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Britain and the World ★ R.P.D.

Socialist-Communist Relations ★ Ben Parkin, M.P.

Housing ★ Sir Richard Coppock

Hungary's Background ★ Commander E. P. Young, R.N. (Retired)

Youth at Work ★ Frank Stanley

Letters from Jenny Marx

Labour Discussion Forum

January, 1957

One shilling and sixpence

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MY LORDS, LADIES . . .

NINE YEARS ago I began writing 'the piece on the cover'. About, well, the magazine and contributors; about its predecessors, its past and future; above all, about its readers—news of you, news to and from you, all over the world, of every age, experience and occupation. In all that time I have never shouted for money. After all, readers can judge for themselves *L.M.*'s quality; they can, and do, tell us how to improve it; many take a stiff struggle for granted with 'a class magazine in every sense' (as a Scottish railwayman described it last week). Our older readers, or those with knowledge of publishing, know well that it is something of a miracle for *L.M.* to have survived all these years. There is a huge fund of readers' goodwill. Surely they can be left to give what they can, without being badgered? Surely it is underestimating their appreciation and intelligence to keep insisting that *L.M.*, like other good left-wing causes, needs money to keep going? That is how we looked at the money question these last nine years; I think, rightly. But now I think we shall be equally right to depart from that golden rule. We must tell you bluntly we need money. We must ask you for it, despite other commitments; and urgently.

Why the change? What's new? The answer is: startling, unprecedented rise in production and distribution costs, which are knocking out even big publications. Without more financial support and greater economies, we shall not only have to reduce the number of pages, instead of adding them, which is what is so needed; cut our illustrations; use cheaper paper and smaller print. We shall have to consider more drastic measures yet.

Take a look at the print industry. Recall some recent disappearances. The British Council's *Britain Today* (after fifteen years) which was losing '£5,000 to £6,000 a year'. The *Fortnightly* (1868) of which *The Times* wrote: 'We can hardly be surprised that a small independent monthly of a complexion mainly political has found it impossible to survive'. *Answers* (1888): the famous *Strand Magazine* (1893). Latest is *Chambers' Journal*, the second-oldest monthly, which packed up in December, after 124 years. In a mournful obituary *The Times* explained: 'The circulation stands today at about 10,000. With high and rising costs the publishers have found that that is not enough'. To come nearer home, over a year ago *The Times* pointed out that none of the Labour movement periodicals paid their way without subsidies (except the commercial weekly *New Statesman*). Since then there have been rapid appearances and disappearances, fevered appeals to rich backers, changes of format and price. And today the Labour Party's official *Fact*, despite a face-lifting four years ago, has sunk, to rise again more expensively in new

(Continued on page iii of cover)

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Vol. XXXIX, No. 1 CONTENTS January, 1957

Page

NOTES OF THE MONTH: Britain and the World, by R.P.D. 1
SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST RELATIONS, III, by Ben Parkin, M.P. 13
HOUSING, by Sir Richard Coppock 17
HUNGARY'S BACKGROUND, by Commander E. P. Young, R.N. (Ret'd.) 22
LETTERS FROM JENNY MARX 30
YOUTH AT WORK, by Frank Stanley 37
LABOUR DISCUSSION FORUM: A. R. Bennett, J. Delahay, A. Lewis, H. Rathbone, E. L. Vaughan, T. Vernon 41
ENGRAVINGS FROM BULGARIA 24-25
TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO 48

Book Reviews:

Unmeasured Hazards, by the World Federation of Scientific Workers: Nuclear Explosions and their Effects (Foreword by Jawaharlal Nehru): *D. G. Arnott* 47
After the Thirties, by Jack Lindsay: *Alick West* 47
Ivan the Not-so-terrible, by Archie Johnstone: *C.P.D.* 48

Notes of the Month

Britain and the World

'Only a prosperous and solvent Britain can shoulder the burdens of a Great Power. History and geography have combined to give us a special position in the world. We cannot and will not abdicate from this.'

Sir Anthony Eden, speech to the Central Council of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, March 16, 1956.

WITHIN nine months of the above boast, 'history and geography' have given the answer to Sir Anthony Eden's Victorian dream of Britain's rôle in the mid-twentieth century world as that of an imperial world-dominating 'Great Power'. His reckless bellicose adventure for the fulfilment of this dream has not produced 'a prosperous and solvent Britain'. It has ended in catastrophe, political, military, diplomatic and economic. 'Total and unmitigated defeat' (*Economist*). 'Humiliating capitulation' (Julian Amery). 'Defeat, hardship and international discredit' (*Observer*). 'The whole affair has been politically bungled by the British Government to an almost incredible degree' (*Daily Telegraph*). These are not the statements of left-wing critics. They are the declarations of influential Conservative and financial organs and of Conservative

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M.P.s. To drive home the lesson, the gravest economic situation since the Conservative Government came into office in 1951 has befallen the nation; the gold and dollar reserves have fallen to one-third lower than when the Conservative Government came into office; and the most desperate financial and economic measures have been introduced, which will mean heavier burdens on all, still further rising prices, and the prospect of extending curtailment of industry and employment. Such is the price of Tory imperialism. It is time to consider an alternative path for Britain and for Britain's future in the world.

The Turn from Peaceful Co-existence

Sir Anthony Eden inherited a situation of high possibilities and even of high promise. It is true that Britain's economic difficulties were still unsolved, and only partially concealed by the temporary favourable turn in the terms of trade during the preceding three years. It is true that Britain was still strangled by military commitments, the American alliance, colonial wars and crippling rearmament. But the bankruptcy of the cold war had become manifest to all. The collapse of the dreams of Western nuclear superiority, or of blockading the swift economic advance of the socialist world by trade bans, or of holding back the growing independent rôle of the new world of national liberation revealed at Bandung, had become universally recognised. Thus the conditions had ripened for the possibility of the turn to peaceful co-existence. With his larger vision Sir Winston Churchill had on successive occasions during the preceding years thrown glances towards this more promising perspective. At the last moment, in the midst of the election, under compulsion of events and public demand, Eden had eaten his words of a few weeks previously, refusing a top-level meeting, and agreed to it. The Geneva Conference of Heads of State transformed the world situation and raised high the hopes of mankind. But then immediately came the counter-offensive. At the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers the Eden-Macmillan Government led the resistance of the Western powers to block any further advance to peace, even reversing the directive of the Geneva summit conference on European security and German unification. Not Dulles, but Macmillan, played the most active public rôle at the second Geneva Conference in thus blocking peace. Though Macmillan was soon after removed, subsequent events soon revealed that Eden was behind this policy of sabotaging peaceful co-existence. The visit of Bulganin and Khrushchov to Britain, which had been originally arranged in the atmosphere of the first Geneva Conference,

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when it took place in the spring of this year, was surrounded with police measures and a stultifying programme to prevent contact with the people.

Sounding the Call to War

It was not after the Suez crisis that Eden turned to war as his line of solution. A careful study of his speeches from the beginning of the year will show that he was consistently developing his offensive against the whole policy of peaceful co-existence. On January 28, 1956, in his speech at Bradford, he had already publicly repudiated the language of Geneva by presenting the international situation in terms of conflict between the West and Communism:

> In these last months the character of the contest between the Communist powers and the Western democracies has changed, not for the better. It has been for some time generally accepted that the danger of world war and military conflict has receded. I do not want to be misunderstood. The risk is always there, and a universal explosion could easily be touched off by hostilities in some critical region such as the Middle East.

Thus already in January he was looking to the Middle East as the starting point for a war of the West against Communism. Similarly on March 16 he was proclaiming to the Conservative Central Council Britain's mission as a 'Great Power':

> We cannot and will not abdicate from this. The logical conclusion of abdication would be a policy of neutralism, and to be neutral for Britain is a slow death.

The alternative to the war policy of the 'Great Power' imposing its will on the world by superior strength was thus seen, not as peaceful co-existence, but as 'neutralism' to be condemned. Such was the thinking of Sir Anthony Eden during the first half of 1956, preparing the debacle of the second half.

'Policy of Strength'

That these views were not the peculiar views of Sir Anthony Eden, but the deliberate policy of the Tory Government, was shown by the parallel declarations of British Ministers and official spokesmen during the first half of 1956. Thus Lord Home, Minister for Commonwealth Relations, in parliament on March 27 warned against 'faith in Russian intentions', and defined British policy in the familiar pre-Geneva terms:

> The foundations of British foreign policy were intact. The United Kingdom was pursuing a policy of strength . . . British foreign policy would be based on strength.

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The whole basis of Geneva, as the turn from the bankrupt 'policy of strength' to peaceful co-existence, was thus officially repudiated. The British official view was described by Drew Middleton, the London correspondent of the *New York Times,* in March, when he reported a British 'senior official' as saying:

> We have passed from the post-war into the pre-war era. We know it. I hope you know it in Washington. (*The Times,* 28.3.56.)

Similarly Sir Gladwyn Jebb, British Ambassador in Paris, on March 6

> gave some account of the British view of the problem of Communism. . . . He suggested that 'recent developments may not be quite as encouraging as they seemed at first'. . . . As, by definition, Communism must pursue its efforts to destroy capitalism, co-existence was the equivalent of the cold war, 'Conflict is the natural state of relations between East and West'. (*The Times,* 7.3.56.)

Back from Geneva. Back to the 'cold war' and 'conflict' as the 'natural state of relations between East and West'. Such was the line of the British Tory Government which culminated in the war of aggression in Suez.

United States Shift of Policy

Why this suicidal turn away from the only policies which could save Britain? The United States under Eisenhower, after the general outcry against Dulles' 'brinkmanship' boast of January, had begun to show signs of recognising the necessity of adapting policy to a new world situation. President Eisenhower had declared in April (address to the Society of Newspaper Editors on April 21):

> The world changes, and in these days it changes rapidly. A policy that was good six months ago is not necessarily now of any validity. It is necessary that we find better, more effective ways of keeping ourselves in tune with the world's needs.

Spelling out this oracular indication of impending change in the general direction of American policy, J. C. Harsch reported (*Christian Science Monitor,* 26.9.56):

> The leaders of both parties know, and recognise privately, that the logical sequel of a truce is a negotiated peace. If the truce is something to be proud of, then a settlement should be equally so. The party which wins this election, whichever it is, will almost inevitably formalise what has happened by a formal settlement with Communist China over the fringe lands of Asia and by a settlement with the Soviet Union over Germany and the Middle East.

There are indications that American policy is moving towards a major readjustment.

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Frenzy of a Declining Power

Why, then, at the very moment when the United States, the previous protagonist of the cold war, had begun to move towards recognising the necessity for a peaceful long-term settlement over disputed issues with the Soviet Union and China, should Britain and France have plunged into the opposite most bellicose path? Precisely because Britain and France, as declining imperialist powers, saw with panic alarm the possibility of such a peaceful settlement between the United States and the socialist world. The United States, with still considerable resources of strength, could equably consider the pros and cons of such a settlement. But for Britain and France, with crumbling empires and crippled economies, the prospect of such a settlement suggested to their rulers the prospect of their final eclipse from the ranks of 'Great Powers' (note well Eden's insistence on this conception as his key conception) and from their 'policies of strength'. Hence their final desperate gamble—whose outcome has only accelerated their decline.

Fear of Socialist Economic Superiority

With unconcealed alarm the same Tory Ministers who were proclaiming their 'policy of strength' against the menace of the Soviet Union and of the new world of socialism and national liberation were simultaneously proclaiming that the real menace of the Soviet Union was not military, but economic. The Foreign Secretary, Selwyn Lloyd, declared on May 21, 1956:

> The Russian steamroller of today is not likely to be a military one. It consists of a great mass of technicians, technologists, teachers, business and other experts, all intended to export communism at the same time as they export their goods and services.

Similarly the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, A. Nutting, on June 16:

> It is much more likely that the Russian military steamroller has become an economic steamroller.

Similarly *The Times* on June 4:

> If the expected rise in the Communist world's standard of living comes about it must have a vast impact elsewhere, both by direct example and by the additional opportunities it will give for aid to other countries. This is the formidable prospect which the West has to face.

No longer the alleged failure of Communism, but the success of Communism now arouses the panic fears of the West.

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A Gamble of Desperation

All this concern over socialist economic advance has been accompanied by repeated alarm signals about Soviet scientific and technological superiority, with a training of engineering graduates twelve times the British level (three times in proportion to population), and 250,000 science teachers against 20,000 in Britain. That it was impossible for the declining capitalist society in Britain to compete in this sphere was admitted, and was demonstrated by the very weak and limited plans adopted for extension; since the provision of an extended level of higher scientific and technical education cannot be accomplished by a wave of a wand, or even by providing money, but requires a foundation of a general level of universal secondary education in which Britain is already left behind. Faced thus with the prospect of bankruptcy of the old order along the path of peace, the old dying capitalist society struck out blindly, like every declining social order, along the path of violence to reverse the scales of history. Britain and France, with Israel, let loose war on Egypt, alongside the attempted coup of counter-revolution in Hungary.

The Debacle

And now the bill has come in. The inevitable debacle has followed the entire policy of Sir Anthony Eden and the Tory Government. The coup of counter-revolution has failed. The progress of the advancing world cannot be turned aside. 'One of the greatest blunders and miscalculations in modern British history' has been the description applied by the *New York Times* to Eden's Suez adventure. Not since Neville Chamberlain and Munich has there been such a landmark of Britain's decline and humiliation. But the comparison under-states the significance of Suez. At Munich Britain and France assisted the aggressor to carve up the victim. Today Britain and France were the direct aggressors amid the universal condemnation of the world. At Munich the aggressor secured his booty—only to reach the final retribution and downfall seven years later in the bunker below the Reichstag and in the dock at Nuremburg. But over Suez Britain and France ended in conspicuous failure and ignominious enforced withdrawal. They incurred the dishonour without the booty. The eclipse of Britain and France as imperialist powers has become visible to all. The disastrous economic and financial consequences are further undermining the already enfeebled structure of the old capitalist régime in these countries, and have heaped discredit on the old ruling class. All the signals are calling for a basic change of policy and leadership.

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Facing the Facts

What, then, is the alternative path for Britain in the modern world situation? The first necessity is to come out of the dreams of a vanished world and recognise the realities of the mid-twentieth century world and of Britain's place in it. Britain and France can no longer seek to impose their will as world powers on the rest of the world. Suez has proved that. Nor can the attempted substitute, which it was the dream of the post-war years to build, the Anglo-American Alliance, take over the domination of the world. The old Anglo-American Alliance is gone; Britain will henceforth be tolerated as the poor relation, as one of a number of partners, no longer as the parallel nearly equal partner. Too late, after Suez, the Tory upper class has begun to kick against their subjection to the United States. But this temporary wave of fashionable upper class anti-Americanism is hopelessly unrealistic. They desire to treat with simultaneous hostility the United States, the Soviet Union, China and the socialist countries, Nehru, the Arabs and Bandung—leaving themselves in glorious isolation with France (for how long?) as their only effective (or ineffective) ally. What a travesty of statesmanship! What a bankruptcy of the once skilled diplomacy of the British upper class!

Towards the Alternative

Does this mean that there is no future for Britain save as the needy client of the United States and a second rate declining power with no significant say in world politics? This is the outcome to which the policies of Toryism (and, at present of right-wing Labour) would lead. But this is not the inevitable outcome. A very different future can open, once the blinkers of the past are thrown aside, and policy is based on a realistic appraisal of the mid-twentieth century world. For the central reality of the modern world situation is that the countries of socialism and national liberation are now the majority of mankind, and the most rapidly advancing force in the world; all else is by comparison declining. In this era of transition the Britain of imperialism can only go down; for it can neither compete in economic and financial resources with the United States, nor maintain its dwindling domination over dependent peoples. This path leads only to political fiasco and economic impoverishment. But if Britain can turn a new page, finally abandoning the traditions of colonialism, and enter into active co-operation with the new rising world, with India and China in Asia, with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, as well as France, for European co-operation, then

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Britain can become truly independent of the United States, while maintaining friendship, and fulfil a foremost progressive rôle in the new world situation, at the same time as opening the way to the solution of its immediate economic and trading problems. The statesmanship which can envisage and fulfil this alternative programme holds the future for Britain.

United States New Bid for World Leadership

In the present rapidly shifting realignment of world politics one new factor is becoming increasingly evident. If Britain at the moment, under its purblind Tory leadership, is losing this opportunity, the United States is out to seize it. A vast reassessment of United States international policy in relation to the new international situation is taking place.

> The United States is experimenting with a broad new policy line in the United Nations which, if successful, could bring about a fundamental realignment of voting blocks and a restoration of lost American influence and leadership. In broadest outline the policy is to establish a co-operative working relationship between the United States and the 26 nation African-Asian block. . . . It involves great risks, notably the weakening of the North Atlantic Alliance.
>
> (*Christian Science Monitor*, 27.11.56.)

Not the dropping of the North Atlantic Alliance, but its relegation to one of a series of regional arrangements is involved in this new approach (Iceland has already passed out of the N.A.T.O. system to direct military relationship with the United States). This new orientation governed the approach to Suez, no less than the attempt to penetrate the Arab world, and take over control of the Baghdad Pact, with the exclusion of Britain from its councils. In this new orientation the approaching conference of Eisenhower and Nehru has become of pivotal importance for the whole international situation.

Mutual Suspicions

British Tory fears of this new alignment of American policy found expression when the *Sunday Times* on December 9 spread the fantastic canard of a supposed 'Eisenhower-Zhukov secret pact' establishing a 'duumvirate by which their two countries were to become the supreme arbiters of all that went on in the world'. The same organ was already harping on the same fears on October 21 :

> Some European statesmen have begun to wonder about Mr. Eisenhower's strong desire to maintain direct contact with Soviet leaders. Behind this desire is the belief of American policy planners that the polarisation of power in the United States and Russia has resulted in a

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stalemate which might perhaps lead to something more than mere co-existence.

Parallel fears of a possible future British orientation towards the Soviet Union have been expressed in the United States:

> We must cease glib talk of 'penalising' our friend for its unhappy mistake, withholding oil from this hemisphere and 'taking over' Britain's position in Africa and the Middle East. Were that to happen the United Kingdom would collapse economically. And it would be driven into an entirely new foreign policy based on neutralism and private arrangements with the Soviet bloc. (*New York Times*, 28.11.56.)

Thus the mutual suspicions and fears of the 'friends'. The moral for Britain is clear for those who have eyes to see.

Time to End Illusions About the Socialist World

The fundamental reorientation of British policy which is now essential can only be accomplished by the progressive forces of the British people, with the key responsibility falling on the labour movement to lead forward in the new direction. But to fulfil this responsibility all sections of the labour and progressive movement will need to face the facts of the modern era, and of the rôle of the advancing socialist third of the world, no less than of the new world of national liberation. Reaction has always sought, now for four decades, to promote division and distrust between the working class and progressive forces of the capitalist world and the socialist world, and to hinder recognition of their identity of interests. Today the principal form of this campaign of reaction is the endeavour to distort the significance of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to exploit the conditions of the struggle against counter-revolution in Hungary, and to paint a picture of a supposed crisis of the international Communist movement. All serious socialists and supporters of peace will need to be on guard against this campaign of reaction, which is designed to conceal from view the realities of the modern world, the unparalleled advance of socialism and communism, and the great new perspectives opening out for the victory of socialism and peace.

New Perspectives

The Twentieth Congress was an historical landmark which brought into view the tremendous changes taking place and in prospect in the world: the advance of socialism to a world system; the irreversible shift in the balance of world forces; the disintegration of the colonial system; the demonstration through a quarter of a century's experience of the economic superiority of socialism to capitalism; and on this

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basis the new perspectives for gigantic further constructive advance, for defeating the menace of a third world war, for the peaceful transition to socialism in a number of countries, and for promoting international working class unity and the broadest co-operation for peace. As an integral part of the response to this new situation the Congress ruthlessly exposed evils which had developed in specific historical conditions alongside the epic achievement and victories, in the historical conditions of the struggle against fascism and the cold war, and took steps to correct them. During the period since the Congress the entire campaign of capitalism and reaction has been directed to concentrate attention on the negative factors of a preceding historical period revealed at the Congress, as if these constituted the main essence of its proceedings, in order to conceal from view the main themes and positive leadership for the future:

> Why is it that the enemies of Communism and socialism are concentrating their attacks on the shortcomings about which the Central Committee of our Party spoke at the XXth CPSU Congress? They are doing so in order to distract the attention of the working class and its parties from the *main* topics advanced by the XXth Party Congress that are clearing the way to further successes for the cause of peace, socialism and unity of the working class.
>
> (Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU, June, 1956.)

A sober perspective will recognise the truth of this. For world history is continuing to advance at an ever more rapid pace, and will have small mercy for those whose gaze is fixed only on the past at the expense of recognising the new changes that are developing and that call for our most active response.

Renovation

A vast and far-reaching renovation and revitalisation is taking place throughout the international communist movement, following the Twentieth Congress, equally on the basis of the lessons of the past and the new possibilities and needs of the future. Such a renovation was urgent and essential to release the full creative forces of the movement for the new tasks, and to end the limiting straitjacket conditions which had developed, through a variety of reasons and specific wrong turnings, in a period of war and near-war emergency, and had led, not merely to past historical evils, but to a stifling of initiative, bureaucratic tendencies, dogmatism and authoritarianism, sterility of Marxist-Leninist theory in many spheres and consequent political weaknesses. The battle against all such tendencies, which are not eradicated in a moment, and which constantly reappear in

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new forms, is an indispensable part of the battle of Marxism-Leninism.

Problems of Transition

Of course this process of correction and renewal does not take place along a smooth and easy road. It can give rise to exaggerations in the opposite direction. 'The overcoming of one defect or mistake', as the Chinese Communist Party wisely warned in April, in commenting on the Twentieth Congress, 'may be followed by a new one, which must in turn be overcome'. It can give rise to attempted infiltration of enemy ideas, or tendencies to see the change, not in terms of going forward, but of harking back to old exploded fallacies. There are at the moment visible divergencies of tendencies or emphasis in the various Communist Parties in charting the new paths. In a specific situation in Hungary the intervention of counter-revolution to exploit the situation has given rise to a tragic conflict in which the defeat of counter-revolution has become the indispensable condition for new advance on a healthier basis. Even here, however, it may be noted that the conflict arose, not during the period of the worst previous excesses or violations of legality, but only after the Twentieth Congress, that is, during the period of correction, which, owing to unwise leadership, was so mishandled as to let loose contradictory tendencies in the party, bringing about the disintegration of the party and opening the door to the action of enemy forces.

Path of Advance

The conflict in Hungary, however, has been an exceptional experience, reflecting special previous conditions more fully analysed in the articles in last month's issue and this month, and not characteristic of the general experience in the other countries and parties. On a longer-term perspective, and on an international scale (with the exception of the special situation in Hungary), the developments of the present period are phenomena, not of a 'crisis' of communism, but of a deeper process of transition and renewal to meet the conditions of a new era, revealing the indestructible strength and creative vitality of the international communist movement and its capacity to move forward with the movement of history.

Let the bourgeois ideologists concoct fables about the 'crises' of communism, about 'confusion' in the ranks of the Communist Party. We are accustomed to hearing such invocations from the enemies. Their forecasts always burst like soap bubbles. These luckless predictors have come and gone, but the communist movement, the immortal and life-giving ideas of Marxism-Leninism have triumphed and are continuing to triumph. This

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also will be the case in the future. No malicious, slanderous attacks by our enemies can stop the irresistible course of the historical development of mankind towards communism.

(Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU, June, 1956.)

The international communist movement will emerge the stronger, and march forward in indissoluble unity, from the present process of renovation.

Towards the Future in Britain

It would be a grave mistake for the representatives of the labour and progressive movement in Britain to imagine that Britain is outside the current of the world—or, for that matter, the Communist Party in Britain outside the current of world communism and the international working class movement. Mr. Sydney Silverman's conception (in the December *Labour Monthly*) that the historical advance of the working class, through the struggle of tendencies, can be artificially arrested and frozen in a permanent *status quo* of social democratic and communist countries is a stultifying conception. As surely as the British working class moved from nineteenth century liberalism to the beginnings of an independent parliamentary rôle in the first half of the twentieth century, no less surely it will move to a strengthened socialist understanding and battle, to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and thereby to the victory of socialism in the coming period.

Unity in Battle

Today in Britain we are faced with an acute and critical situation. It would be fatal for the labour movement, which fought valiantly over Suez, to retreat to bipartisanship over Hungary or slip back into the channels of the cold war and anti-communist incitement. The present situtaion calls for the most active and united fight to defeat the discredited Tory Government, force a speedy general election and return a Government of the labour movement which will initiate the new policy that Britain needs. In this fight, alike in the mobilisation of the movement, and in the presentation of an effective alternative policy, the Communist Party has already proved, and will further prove, that it has its rôle to play. Let us go forward together, irrespective of the still continuing differences of viewpoint on many questions, for the aims we hold in common, to transform the political situation in Britain, end the dominance of Tory reaction, and open the way to a new future.

December 10, 1956. R.P.D.

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SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST RELATIONS, III

BEN PARKIN, M.P.

[Following the articles by Mr. R. H. S. Crossman, M.P. (October, 1956) and Mr. Sydney Silverman, M.P. (December), we print this month the views of Mr. Ben Parkin, M.P.—ED., *L.M.]*

IT was late in September when I first wrote this article; too late for the Editor to print it. Now that I come to revise it, some of the conclusions will be more harshly phrased, some of the solutions may seem indefinitely postponed. Many people may think it is the wrong moment to pursue the discussion. Yet if the general problems are ever to be solved, the central and intractable dilemmas must be faced. Recent events have sharpened rather than altered them.

It is comparatively easy for completely different philosophies and ways of life to stop warring and decide to co-exist. Once Muslim fighting fanaticism had spent its urge, and the Crusaders had settled down into trade missions, sultans and kings could not only exchange ambassadors but could angle for alliances against enemies nearer home. This enabled Christians to devote several centuries to the important task of persecuting and burning each other. It is those who choose different roads to reach the same goal who mistrust each other most.

When the cold war ended with almost dramatic suddenness, it seemed almost impossible to build up all over again the tension, suspicion, and readiness to accept the inevitability of another world war. Of course, there were still danger spots, and still neurotic people ready to start something. Yet when I picked up, as I did in the Spreewald this summer, one of the balloon-dropped leaflets in Russian calling on the Soviet Army to mutiny, it seemed not much more dangerous or alarming than bearded crack-pots at Marble Arch carrying announcements of the Day of Judgement.

It looked as if summit talks could soon be working out security and disarmament plans which would remove from Soviet leaders any remaining fears that unfettered liberalisation in Eastern Europe would mean throwing away military defences without any guarantee in return.

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There seemed at last the prospect that discussions between points of view on the left, fierce as they might be, would be on the merits of a specific project or technique, and there would be a real pooling of experience in democracy and planning. It was a prospect which held dangers of its own. British Tories were preparing to advise the electors that Socialists were the last people to be trusted to negotiate with the Russians since they argued with them so bitterly.

A small but fair example of both the dangers and possibilities of the new situation lies in the very fact that these articles were invited. Previous contributions from Labour M.P.s have usually been on specific issues rather on wider political relationships. The last time I wrote for the *Labour Monthly* (on the question of German re-armament) one of my parliamentary colleagues made a semi-public remark about me which caused me solemnly to invite him to give me the name of his solicitors. Yet there is a view against such discussions which is held by many Labour Party members who are far from right-wing. Any discussion which ignores the existence of this view will fail to get to the root of the problem. Fairly put, it would sound something like this: 'You are old enough to know that disciplined tactics of the Communist Party never vary. They have been playing the game of setting up front organisations on specific issues in order to get a fresh foothold in the Labour Party ever since they were disaffiliated. You know that they are always flattering individual Labour M.P.s in order to claim support and use some names. If you let your name be used then either you are an underground member or sympathiser or else you are a political innocent'. Speaking for myself, I claim that I was neither of these things; that to me the thing that mattered above all was to prevent the outbreak of the third world war. So long as disaster was avoided then a time would come when hatreds simmered down and fears subsided and if humanity had to wait another generation to conquer hunger and disease, then serve it right for being so stupid.

I am well aware, however, that to state such a viewpoint as if those who thought as I did held a monopoly of devotion to peace is to arouse the furious indignation of other colleagues. They have maintained that the way to avoid war was to state clearly that any extension of Soviet power either by military action or through the action of communist parties would be regarded as aggression, and that to meet Russian realism with mushy sentimentality was worse than weak thinking, it was a downright dis-service to the cause of peace. The logical conclusion of this latter view is that any militant

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move for national liberation or social change anywhere in the world, particularly if there is a local communist party however small supporting it, gets classified as a Kremlin conspiracy, and socialist parties find themselves barred from supporting it.

During the whole of my political lifetime relationships on the left have been bedevilled by the crisis of conscience between these two points of view. Since 1945 the crisis has sharpened, partly because the Soviet Union emerged as one of the two greatest world powers. As a personal decision it has presented itself more particularly to 'intellectuals' and members of European socialist movements. In the last resort it has meant a decision whether to accept the view that the military security of the Soviet Union was the most important objective in the cause of world socialism, whether therefore to make everything else, including social progress in one's own country, secondary to this, whether to accept the leadership of the communists in supporting the strategic and tactical aims of Soviet foreign policy. It is only by understanding this that a member of the Labour Party can understand what has happened to those who have joined the Communist Party. He has seen them dutifully following changes in party line and not only accepting but vigorously defending certain happenings in other countries which would look like tyranny, clumsy folly and worse unless one could see them as tragic episodes in a near-war situation, where civil war was fomented in frontier areas, where fear made errors of judgement, or even differences of opinion look like treachery, and where individual lives and freedom seemed insignificant when the lives of tens of millions might be at stake.

The three preceding paragraphs are exactly as I wrote them in September. I went on to say to readers who might disagree with them 'I do beg of them to realise that unless that chapter is behind us and the page turned over there is not the slightest hope of achieving the sort of co-operation which these articles are intended to discuss. The invisible and impenetrable barrier will remain, the uneasy sense will persist that although we may agree on certain issues yet at bottom we have different loyalties and different aims'.

Since September events have moved fast. I am among those who have said in public that a terrible blunder was made in Hungary. It is obvious that there have been hesitations and great conflicts of opinion in the Kremlin, and I am on the side of those who for the moment have lost the argument. Yet all the evidence is that behind the decisions of the 20th Congress is a movement among the younger

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generation inside the Soviet Union towards greater personal freedom and more democratic methods of administration at least as powerful as anything in Eastern Europe. These people are well pleased with what they are achieving at home and they will demand and get more.

What is now important in the cause of peace is that the Russians should realise that criticism of their actions in Hungary does not only come from people who want to restore the rule of the landlords and financiers. Nor does it come only from people who are the conscious or unconscious allies of those who think in terms of military containment or reconquest. This country cannot sustain a war without the consent of the Labour Party, in or out of office. The Labour movement in Britain could say with one voice something like this. We have no quarrel with the economic basis of communism. We admire and sometimes envy the material progress you have made, though we think you might have done still better in parts with more democratic methods. We have nothing to do with those who think of overthrowing your system by force. But the warmth of our friendship depends upon the speed and sustained goodwill with which you extend personal freedom and the democratic rights of the individual. That is the ultimate objective of socialism as we see it. We have often heard you say in the past that you wanted to learn technical know-how from the west. We think we have something to offer you in democratic know-how which can bring greater personal happiness as well as greater efficiency. Without it your own progress will be halted and the cause of Socialism everywhere will be discredited.

No one will say this at present, however, without first expressing their passionate protest over what has happened in Hungary. Outside observers should try carefully to understand the mood of Labour supporters in this matter. We utterly reject the doctrine of 'my country right or wrong'. When we think our country is wrong we criticise it more mercilessly and attack its government more vigorously than we should do any other country. Even though it has been achieved by the Tories, there is a fresh and special shame that it is our country which is branded as an aggressor by the United Nations. Yet we feel no less strongly on the principle of what has happened in Hungary, and the depth of feeling in individuals is increased in so far as they expected those concerned to know better. That is why we should have expected communists to display a reaction to events in Hungary even more sensitive and critical than our own if they seriously expect to play a rôle on the left in the political development of their own country.

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HOUSING

SIR RICHARD COPPOCK*

THE debates at the recent Labour Party Conference were fortunately devoid of heat, but not entirely without light. In the matter of housing the light that was shed by the Labour Party Executive's policy statement 'Homes for the Future', did not in my view stress the points which we, the building trade unions, had in mind. There is in the Labour movement a strong appreciation of the urgency of the housing problem; indeed, how could it be otherwise when so many of our people lack adequate accommodation? But I do not think the problem is being approached with the sense of urgency by which alone progress is possible. It must constantly be borne in mind that the solution of the housing shortage does not rest on the physical exertions of the building industry. These have proved adequate to cope with any reasonable emergency—if an emergency can be 'reasonable'. The shortages and the problem have their origin purely in the political field, and that is where the solution lies. This is indeed implicit in the Labour Party's statement, but what is not implicit is the recognition that far more drastic action is required than the somewhat tepid reforms agreed at the Blackpool Conference. If housing can be properly tackled only by regarding it as a social service, which most active people in our movement agree it is, then the means to make it a social service must also be faced.

When the Party achieves power it proposes to take over six million rent-controlled houses. All well and good, but taking over existing houses will not increase their number. Such action may even add to the burdens of local authorities and make them unpopular, or more unpopular, as the case may be, by forcing them into the direction of an 'economic' rent, that is, rent sufficient to cover the financial burden of ownership. So when we assert that the problem is a political one, we mean that it is also a financial one, and 'there's the rub'. The Tories by playing on the acquisitive fears of the smaller house owners—owner-occupiers and people possessing a couple of houses—can successfully prevent any worth-while action from being taken, because fear is usually engendered by emotion and not by reason. But we in the Labour movement have to make our appeal to reason and in doing so we are compelled to state and prove our case step by step. Emotion is not, of course, absent, but it has to reinforce and not substitute reason.

*Sir Richard Coppock, as many of our readers will know, is General Secretary of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives.

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What are the drastic steps, which we the building unions, speaking on behalf of the organised operatives, suggest as vital in our attempt to solve the housing crisis? It is by means of the public ownership of the building industry (and the civil engineering industry as both industries are interchangeable and firms undertaking civil engineering work also perform building work on a large scale). But first let us examine the industry and see whether our criticisms are justified. The building industry, excluding the civil engineering side, has a personnel of about a million operatives, and there are roughly eight workers to every one employer. In the first report of my executive committee outlining a plan for the nationalisation of the building industry (prepared as a result of a mandate of the Federation's Annual Conference held in Porthcawl, in 1949) it was stated that at that time—we have no reason to think that the position has undergone any radical alteration since then—there were about 123,000 firms in the industry (more employers than bricklayers) of which 107,000 each employed up to and including ten operatives. Of that number, 50,000 were 'no man' ones, that is 'firms' each consisting of one person, namely, the employer himself doing the job. Only three firms each employed over 5,000 operatives. Now this excessive dispersion would be of no consequence if efficiency were the result; but are the vast majority efficient? Have they the means or the equipment at their disposal for ensuring an economic job? Have they the latest information on techniques? What do they know about modular co-ordination? Have they mastered, or indeed studied, any of the technical journals and papers of which there are hundreds? To ask such questions is to invite the obvious negative answers.

Of equal importance to the construction side of the industry are the manufacture and merchanting of building materials. At present every building material without exception is monopoly-controlled both in manufacture and in merchanting. If any confirmation were required of this statement one need only refer to numerous official reports and publications of various kinds. I have in mind the published reports and accounts of building materials companies. Nevertheless, there is a comparative paucity of data available because private companies need not, and therefore do not, publish information. (Concealment is highly suspicious for it occurs only where self-interest imperatively dictates.) However, sufficient is at our disposal to enable valid conclusions to be drawn. Revealing reference can be made to the Report of the Simon Committee (on the Placing and Management of Building Contracts, 1944) of which

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I was a member, which analysed management organisation of the building industry, showed what was wrong and how it could be put right. Then there are various Monopoly Commissions' reports dealing respectively with cast-iron rainwater goods, copper and copper based alloys, electric lamps, imported timber; with collective discrimination; and a report dealing with collusion in tendering in the Greater London area which give a very good illustration of the anti-social behaviour of monopoly capitalism, of big business in action. The inefficiency the reports portray is not inefficiency of management necessarily, nor is it due to the lack of scientific or technological application where the larger firms are concerned, but is due to lack of social conscience, in which private interests dominate any consideration of the public weal. To make the building materials industry a public one would convert it from private to public monopoly, but the latter is subject to public control through ministerial responsibility and parliamentary vigilance.

It is claimed that our nationalisation scheme contains a contradiction because it proposes as an initial step the taking over of all firms on the basis either of (*a*) their employment of over 20 men or (*b*) their annual turnover exceeding £20,000. It is said that we accuse the small firms of being inefficient but exclude them from nationalisation. Such a criticism of our scheme misconceives its purpose. What we suggest initially is prompted solely by considerations of expediency, for it is easier to deal with large, well-organised companies. With the development of the proposed National Building Corporation the small firms would in time find themselves outside the scope of contracts and compelled to succumb to the inevitable march of events.

Our plan does not interfere with the direct labour departments of the local authorities. Public ownership is of industry, not of occupation. So any small shop, or village 'Jacks-of-all-trades' undertaking minor building repair work will remain free to continue their activities if they are able to retain their customers. Our claim against monopoly, I repeat, is not that it is inefficient in the accepted physical sense of the term, but that it is so in the moral sense inasmuch as private interest conflicts with the public interest, as a result of which the latter is invariably sacrificed.

To return to housing. I have indicated that there can be no progress under present conditions because of the heavy financial burden placed ultimately on the people least able to afford it. Recently the N.F.B.T.O. has issued a publication 'Building as a Public Service' which advances in easily understood terms the reasons for its nationalisation scheme. It reveals that a municipal house whose

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construction cost is £2,000, redeemable over the customary period of 60 years, bears an interest charge of £4,865. What a fantastic position! Yet the burden of interest is barely touched on in the Labour Party statement. It is dismissed with a scant reference to 'reasonable rates of interest' and to the statement that 'a reduction in the present high level of interest charges for housing purposes is absolutely essential'. Even the debate at Blackpool did not give the impression that the delegates were seized of the significance of interest charges, now standing at $5\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. for loans from the Public Works Loan Board. Under Treasury direction, however, the Board will advance loans only in very exceptional cases and local authorities are thus left to go elsewhere for their capital funds and so are compelled to pay more than $5\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

While I have no wish to suggest that the Labour Party's housing policy is valueless, I do feel that it does not tackle the fundamental problem set by the existence of capitalist society. Let us admit that it is necessary to compensate dispossessed owners. All right! But it is not necessary as a corollary to that to perpetuate the evils of capitalism, which is what we do if we do not commit ourselves unreservedly to the principle that interest is anti-social and quite out of keeping with what socialism and socialists stand for. Housing must be made a social service, quite outside the hands of bond and interest holders. Houses must be state or municipally owned, built out of the proceeds of taxation, and the expense redeemed by rents which can include an estimated amount for repairs.

I must not overlook another important stage in our nationalisation scheme: that the land must be brought into public ownership. For is it not clear that while private interests can hold the people to ransom by exorbitant prices (from £50-£1 mn. an acre, according to locality) the good effect of the public ownership would be nullified? Municipalities in Great Britain own about two million houses and flats. That is public ownership, but handicapped by reason of operating in the strait-jacket of usury. In my speech at Blackpool, I regretted that there had not been better co-operation between the Labour Party and the Building Unions before the former's plan was launched. I said 'if you socialise housing you must socialise the building of them'. The second course is not the *inevitable* consequence of the first but it is the logical and only effectual course. If the construction of houses, the manufacture of building materials and the ownership of land all remain within the field of private interests, how can municipalities be in a position to carry out the task imposed on them except by passing the burden on to their tenants or

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tenant-owners? That will mean, surely, that no financial benefit can possibly accrue to the tenants.

Our plan is made more urgent than ever as a result of the Government's Rent Decontrol Bill. Let us be candid and admit that there are people who can well afford to pay more than they are paying now for their rent-controlled dwellings. But this admission will do nothing to add to the number of houses that are necessary to be made available for the thousands of desperate house-seekers. Neither control nor decontrol solves the housing shortage. Only one thing can solve the problem and that is the obvious but often overlooked solution of *building houses*. But building houses is a political-financial issue and rests with the Government. Private enterprise, even if given its head, will not, or cannot, come to the rescue. In the inter-war years private enterprise built only for sale and not for letting. Why should it have done otherwise? Why expect the speculative builder alone to assume an air of virtue in the capitalist jungle? Housing is a communal responsibility and its solution can rest only in communal hands. Nationalisation of land is not such a revolutionary departure from tradition as appears at first sight, for municipalities and county authorities now have the power of compulsory purchase in the case of slum demolition and for ordinary housing purposes. The Town and Country Planning Acts confer substantial powers on councils, which they have exercised. It is not necessary that the Party adopt our scheme (we think it a good one, naturally); as a matter of fact its compensation proposals are hardly likely to commend themselves to the Labour Party as they depart from orthodoxy to quite a considerable extent, as we suggest that compensation should be for loss of profit and not for loss of capital, and discharged in five years. I should like the Labour Party to come out boldly in favour of some kind of social ownership or control of building, or I would like to know by what other means the crippling effect of finance can possibly be overcome.

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HUNGARY'S BACKGROUND

Commander E. P. YOUNG, R.N. (Retired)

A GREAT deal of misunderstanding in relation to current events in Hungary, and a great deal of the heartburning felt by honest Communists and Socialists on account of the rôle played therein by the Soviet Union, arises, I think, from the fact that post-war Hungary has been labelled a 'People's Democracy'. This label, though somewhat justified by the general character and programmes of Hungary's governments since her liberation (by the Red Army), has led many people in the West—and perhaps also some people in the East—to make the mistake of classing her with the rest of the East European 'People's Democracies'. For reasons arising out of the background of her past, she should be classed, rather, with the German Democratic Republic. Both are conquered countries, whose misguided peoples fought to the very last under Fascist leadership and have had to pay reparations. In both of them, the military destruction of Fascism by the Soviet Union alone made possible such economic and social transformation as has subsequently taken place. They differ, however, in that in Germany there was quite a powerful and well-organised 'underground' Resistance Movement, which, together with that in exile, provided what has proved a working basis for the establishment of a democratic anti-Fascist régime, whereas in Hungary there was nothing of the kind at all. As was rightly written by Dr. Doreen Warriner, in her *Revolution in Eastern Europe:*

> In the last year of the war, when the power of the Axis was breaking, the political struggle in Hungary was waged, not between Government and Resistance, but between different brands of Fascism.

One of these tried to 'hedge' when it saw the end coming, by putting out peace feelers to the West, in the hope that Churchill would 'double cross' his allies by grasping them—as they believed he wished—and would save them from what was coming to them from the East. The other destroyed Budapest, by making it the scene of a desperate rear-guard action, to save the retreating Germans, with whom they fought on thereafter as a kind of 'Foreign Legion', although their own country had capitulated.

It should be explained here, in fairness to the Hungarian people, that, whereas the Germans had had a taste of some measure of

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democracy after the first World War, and came under Fascism only in 1933, the Hungarians had never known democracy, and had been subjected to a near-Fascist régime (which eventually came out openly as Fascism) since 1919. The 'Christian Democrats' responsible for this—and for the appalling atrocities of the 'White Terror' whereby it was introduced and kept in being—were publicly congratulated some years later, by the Nazi, von Papen, on having anticipated Hitler by quite a number of years. He might have congratulated them even more on the skill with which, by lavish expenditure on propaganda abroad about their '800-year-old Parliamentary Democracy', and by making it look rather like that of Britain (to the point, even, of tolerating a 'loyal' Labour 'Opposition'), they had kept Western 'democrats' in ignorance of the reality.*

Popular discontent at the really shocking living conditions which were intrinsic in this iniquitous régime of 'Christian Democracy', which might have come violently to a head (despite the teachings of the Roman Catholic hierarchy who were among the largest landowners, and despite the terrorism of the Police) was largely diverted into 'safe' channels by the instigation of anti-Semitism and by 'Revisionism', which appealed to Magyar chauvinism and pseudo-romanticism. The latter was actually taught as a kind of 'gospel', even in the limited number of elementary schools. It made a people thus kept foolish deliberately, believe that their hardships were due mainly to the loss of 'their lands', and would vanish if only their country's frontiers with Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania (which had been determined, after the first World War, as nearly as possible on ethnological lines) were revised 'justly' in her favour. Slovakia was described to them as 'Upper Hungary'!

The industrial workers, being recognised, though a minority of the population, as the greatest potential threat to the régime, were placated by being allowed to have their trade union (subject to police supervision and dictation of their leadership), and were 'bought off' by being allowed—even sometimes encouraged—by the landowning ruling class to secure modest gains for themselves at the

*The 1921 Secret Treaty of the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party with the White Terror (later fascist) régime (with the stipulations that it would 'agree to the wishes expressed by the Prime Minister, both with regard to foreign and home policy', that it would refrain from organsing agricultural workers, etc., etc.) was published in *Labour Monthly* of April, 1925, a few months after the news of it had leaked out and had compelled the Second International to set up a special Commission on this treachery to the working class. Further and even more damning evidence of how the Social-Democratic leaders worked hand in glove with the fascist police came to light twenty-five years later; and a number of these documents were published in *Labour Monthly* of July, 1950, together with a photostatic copy of a 1941 letter from the notorious Peyer, then General Secretary of the Hungarian Trade Union Federation and Chairman of the Social-Democratic Party.—ED., *L.M.*

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Bulgarian Wood Engraving:

Two engravings by the contemporary Bulgarian artist V. ZAKHARIEV

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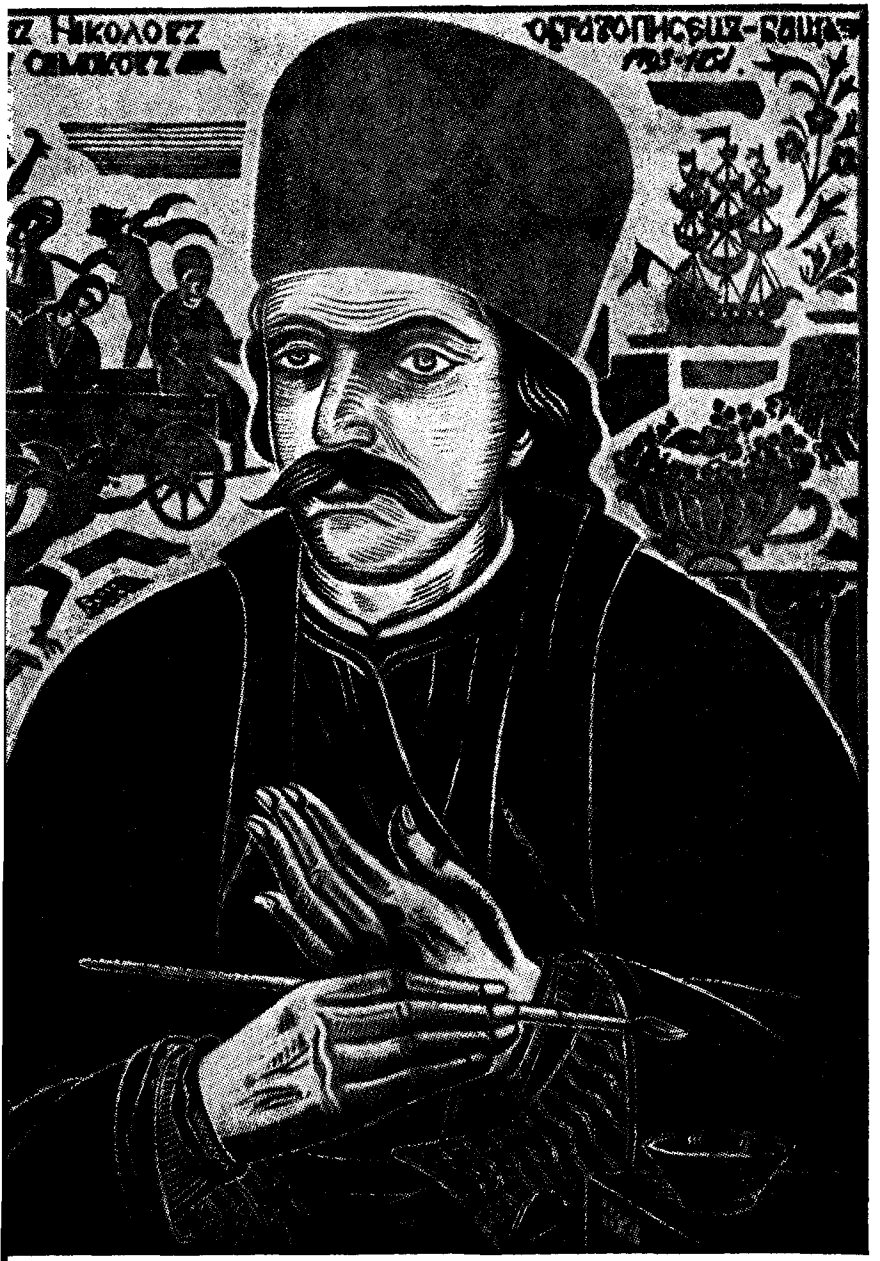

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expense of their employers (mainly Jewish). They were allowed also to have their own political party—not Communist, of course, but Social Democrat—with almost complete freedom of action in the towns and of criticism in Parliament, and to elect their Parliamentary representatives by secret ballot, on one condition. The condition was that they made no kind of approach to the peasants who constituted about nine-tenths of the population, and upon whose votes, neatly controlled by an open ballot, reinforced, if required, by police measures, the landowners depended for the 'democratic' election of a perpetual majority of their representatives.

Fuller descriptions of this historical and political background are to be found in such books as *That Blue Danube,* by J. D. E. Evans; *Revolution in Eastern Europe,* by Dr. Doreen Warriner; and the chapter on Hungary by Miss Elizabeth Wiskemann in *Central and South East Europe 1945-1948,* published by Chatham House; and even in *Eastern Europe between the Wars,* by Hugh Seton-Watson. Besides, I saw much of it myself, when I first visited Hungary in 1936, and had the whole humbug exposed to me by such people as the Social Democrat Anna Kethly, recently 'in the news', and the Radical Dr. Rassay. I had the experience of going out for a walk in the country with a young trade unionist, a leader of the Social Democrat Youth organisation, who stopped, for my benefit, to exchange words with a peasant we met. Almost at once, a policeman appeared from somewhere, wanting to know who we were and why we were talking with this peasant. My friend told me that it was only because I, an Englishman, was with him that he was not beaten up and given a fortnight's summary imprisonment. As it was, his name and address were taken, as a hint that he would have a double whack coming to him if he were caught at it again.

It will be realised that after a quarter of a century of this 'Christian Democracy', supplemented by vigorous fomenting of racial hatred and scorn of all Slavs and especially, for obvious reasons, of the Russians, it would have been surprising if there had been any kind of 'resistance movement' inside war-time Hungary. Any tendency in that direction must have been diverted, moreover, by the broadcasts from this country, which urged the Hungarians to '*keep their army for use against their neighbours*' after the war was over (*vide* Hansard, House of Commons Report, March 11, 1942). The object of those broadcasts, described at the time as 'not in the national interest to discuss in public', seems to have been made public by recent events. It will be realised also that the conquering Red Army was confronted with an extremely difficult task after it had liberated

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the Hungarian people from its Fascist rulers and from German occupation, to instal a Hungarian Government which would comply with the requirements of the Allied agreement at Yalta regarding the root and branch extirpation of Fascism. This task was made even more difficult by the perverse insistence of the Western allies on the inclusion in that Government of the 'Opposition' parties—Smallholders, Social Democrat and National Peasants—all of which had collaborated almost to the last with the Fascists in the prosecution of their war against Democracy, and on the perpetuation of the pseudo-Parliamentary régime of before the war. The only healthy and reliable element was the Communist Party, a mere handful of survivors of the 'White Terror', almost all of whom had been cut off from direct contact with the political life of Hungary by imprisonment or exile for very many years, and who were handicapped, for the reasons stated earlier, by their association with the hated Russians. Progress by normal Parliamentary means was frustrated, as might be expected, by the most Right Wing Party, the Smallholders, into which flocked all the former members of the banned Fascist 'parties', and, at election time, by the Roman Catholic priests telling the peasants that to vote for the parties of the left was to risk the torments of hell. It was further frustrated by the reactionary leaders of the Social Democrat party, firmly entrenched in the trade union movement, who were anti-Russian, anti-Communist, and anti-peasant. These—with direct encouragement in this line by Transport House—sabotaged all attempts to educate the workers on sound socialist lines, especially in relation to work and to their attitude towards the Soviet Union.

It is to the credit of the Hungarian Communist Party that such progress was made, nevertheless, that the Budapest correspondent of *The Times* was able to write on April 1, 1948:

> Listening to the wealthier peasants, to some of the middle classes, and to those both fairly and unfairly dispossessed, one would think that there was no one behind this Government at all. Listening to the poorer peasants, to their sons and daughters educated free in the new colleges, to young boys and girls going out to build railways, new fields, bring in harvests, and to most workers, one would think that the whole country was enthusiastic for it. . . . Treaties have been signed with nations near by, for centuries enemies. . . . Beyond Vienna there is little talk of war. Deserts of ruins have been rebuilt, and the economic plans are a kind of pledge of a more prosperous future.

It must be realised, however, that this transformation could never have been achieved, as Dr. Doreen Warriner writes (*op. cit*), 'without

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the change in balance of power resulting from Soviet victories', and that

> If British and U.S. policy had had its way, parliamentary institutions would have been used, by the kind of people who had experience of them, as a reactionary weapon—to prevent social and economic progress—and to set up Governments like those of before the war—whose failures led to Fascism.

It seems to me, therefore, the small band of experienced Communists thus found themselves in a position of being in charge of a country which had undergone far-reaching transformation of a revolutionary character, without having had a revolution. This difficult—and somewhat unreal—position was made more difficult for them by the fact that the membership of their party had been inflated by an influx of unprincipled place-seekers, by whose malpractices it became somewhat discredited in the eyes of the public—a fact of which full advantage was taken, of course, by all its enemies, at home and abroad. It seems possible that the leadership of the party became so preoccupied with the kind of 'chess-match' which they had constantly to play in Parliament, even after their more virulent opponents had been exposed and eliminated themselves, that they neglected to supervise what was going on in the administration. It is necessary to criticise them, and especially Rakosi (who was warned off it, I was told, by Stalin), on the score that they were too chauvinistic and fostered chauvinism among a people already made prone to it by the previous régime. They thus promoted popular feeling against their only reliable support, the Soviet Union, and having done this, they provoked that Magyar chauvinism, thoughtlessly, by 'plugging' Stalin and the Soviet Union. As popular discontent, largely on grounds which were quite spurious, became widespread, especially among the politically ill-educated young workers and students, it would seem that, instead of exposing the spuriousness of the grounds of their complaints, and making them aware of their vast indebtedness to the Soviet people for their liberation from Fascism and for their subsequent advances, they reverted to the police measures of repression practised by their predecessors. This tendency was doubtless aggravated by the attempted counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia in February, 1948, by the indefensible police methods on charges of alleged 'Titoism', and latterly by the thought that the Soviet Army would be withdrawn after the conclusion of the Peace Treaty with Austria.

These deep defects seem, strangely enough, to have been accompanied by surprising self-confidence—the result, perhaps, of self-delusion by their own exaggeration of their achievements, which

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were, in fact, largely Soviet achievements on their behalf and in their favour.* Thus, for instance, they threw open their frontier with Austria, which they knew to be teeming with 'White Terrorists', enjoying asylum from punishment as war-criminals by their various victims, as was West Germany, beyond. The result was the production of a 'revolutionary' situation, with the odds and circumstances in favour of the counter-revolution which was attempted. It is perhaps fortunate, in these circumstances, that the counter-revolutionaries were thrown into action by the British and French Governments, with some hope, no doubt, that they might succeed, but primarily to provide 'justification' for their own intended aggression in Egypt, which it was meant to precede—but, for some reason the latter took place a few days prematurely. In the event, therefore, thanks to the fact that initial success led the Fascist 'Christian Democrats' to expose their influence on the supposed 'popular uprising' and their intentions if it were to succeed, this adventure has proved a major disaster for its executants and their Western sponsors, and has ended in a sort of 'Dunkirk'.

Prompt and adequate response by the Soviet Union to the Hungarian Government's appeal for armed assistance against armed attack which it had not the force to counter has enabled counter-revolution to be turned into revolution. The material damage and loss of life has been considerable, though surely far less than reports in our Press have suggested, and certainly far less than would have resulted if the 'White Terror' had been allowed to continue and triumph, with the probability that Hungary's smaller neighbours would have felt bound, in the light of their past experience, to take military action to reverse that situation. Such action, legitimately definable as 'war', might well have been extended into a third world war. The task which now confronts the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is not an easy one, but will have been made easier, in one way at least, by recent events. During the past eleven years, fear of a capitalist 'come-back' has undoubtedly made the mass of the Hungarian people more reluctant than might have been expected to the acceptance of the new system which their government has been trying to establish. This inhibiting factor, fostered by western broadcast and other propaganda and by the Roman Catholic Church, will have been removed by the firm and unambiguous way in which the Soviet Union made it clear to Hungarians they could count on solid, decisive support against any intervention designed to reverse her march towards socialism.

*Revealing statistics in this connection were published in *Soviet News* of November 27, 1956.

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LETTERS FROM JENNY MARX

[We continue this month (with some minor omissions) the letters to Dr. Kugelmann from Marx's eldest daughter Jenny. In France at the beginning of 1870, during the last months of Louis Bonaparte's reign (the Republic was proclaimed in September), there was ferment amongst the working class and progressives. The French Government tried to divert attention by inventing plots and arresting the Paris Federal Council of the Workingmen's International Association (the First International). Provocations engineered by Bonaparte's police were ascribed to the International.—ED., *L.M.*]

January 30, 1870.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,

I write these lines to tell you why Mohr has not answered your letters. Since about three weeks he has had carbuncles under his arm, which were so painful that poor Mohr was unable to move his arm. Twice the doctor cut them. This operation brought with it almost instantaneous relief. At the present moment I am happy to say, our dear patient is almost well again, though of course he still feels very weak—the necessary effect of the great pains he has suffered. Now that it is over, I think it was a good thing the illness came to a crisis as Mohr had been tormented by it for months past—you will remember he was anything but well at Hanover and in that state he continued up to the present time—sometimes a little better, sometimes worse.

Your correspondence with Jacoby[1] amused him much. To judge from that venerable gentleman's rambling answer, your letters to him must have hit pretty hard.

I have also to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to myself—the contents of which surprised me not a little and have made me very anxious to hear the final decision of the Philistines of the '*Künstler-Verein*' [Artists' Association]. Considering that this association is composed of the cream of Hanoverian society, the 'cultivation' of the Upper Classes, on the strength of which they consider themselves so much superior to the working classes, certainly is something to be mightily proud of! The only pity is that these blockheads have succeeded in annoying you and in robbing you of so much time.

[1]J. Jacoby (1805-1877), German liberal-democratic journalist and member of the French First National Assembly.

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I must ask you and dear Trautchen[2] to forgive me for not having before this informed you of the advent of a little stranger in Lafargue's family. On the second of January Paul announced to us the arrival of a girl in the Rue du Cherche-Midi. She is exactly a year younger than her brother, the birthdays of the children being on the same day. A few days ago Laura[3] wrote us that she is much stronger. Her letter was accompanied by a most interesting lot of French journals—the *Marseillaise,*[4] *Cloche,*[5] *Réforme,*[6] *Rappel*[7] and *Pays.*[8] These journals give one a capital idea of the present state of France. The hubbub and excitement prevailing in the capital are incredible. All parties, nay all individuals are at loggerheads. Rochefort[9] is at daggers drawn with his quondam friends and supporters of Vermorel,[10] Villemessant,[11] etc., etc., whom he openly denounces as *mouchards* [spies], and they again in their organ, the *Figaro*[12], return tit for tat. As for the Bancels, Gambettas, Pelletans, Favres,[13] etc., that tribe of big-mouthed spouters of sonorous phrases have altogether vanished—they are nowhere. Experience has taught the people what they have to expect from the bragging *'gauche'* [left]. Not one of them dared to show his face at Victor Noir's[14] funeral or to raise his voice in the Chambers. Rochefort, supported by brave old Raspail,[15] has annihilated them—doomed them to a living death.

Whatever Liebknecht[16] may say to the contrary, Rochefort reigns supreme at Paris, and the wisdom of his conduct in preventing a collision with the military on the day of the interment is now apparent to all. Were Liebknecht to read the *Pays,* he would see that *Cassagnac* and consequently the Government do not disguise their rage at the fact—*'que le peuple ne savait pas mourir pour ses convictions', 'qu'ils n'ont pas élevé dans l'air le drapeau rouge'.* Formerly, shrieks the ferocious clown Cassagnac: *'les révolutionnaires étaient des hommes de cœur, des hommes de principes qui se battaient pour des idées, et qui savaient bien que ni canons, ni fusils, ni baionettes ne tiendraient devant la poitrine nue du*

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[2]Mrs. Kugelmann.
[3]Laura Marx-Lafargue (1845-1911), Marx's second daughter, married Paul Lafargue.
[4]*Marseillaise,* radical French paper, edited by Rochefort and published in Paris in 1870.
[5-8]French bourgeois liberal papers.
[9]Henri Rochefort (1836-1913), French radical journalist and sympathiser of the International.
[10]August Vermorel (1841-1871), French radical journalist who took part in the Paris Commune and died on the barricades.
[11]J. H. A. D. Villemessant (1812-1879), French bourgeois journalist.
[12]*Figaro,* French Conservative newspaper.
[13]Jules Favre (1809-1880), French Republican politician, exposed by Marx in *The Civil War in France.*
[14]Victor Noir (1848-1870), French journalist shot by Pierre Bonaparte in his own palace, which caused great unrest in France.
[15]F. V. Raspail (1794-1878), French scientist and radical.
[16]Wilhelm Liebknecht (1826-1900), famous leader of the German Social Democratic Party and intimate friend of Marx and Engels.

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people qui réclame son droit'.[17] These 'naked-breasts' would indeed have been a feast for the cannons and *chasse-pôts* [blunderbusses] of the Men of December,[18] the more so, stationed as they were in the outskirts of Paris, where barricades could not be erected and where consequently the 100,000 soldiers would not, as in the narrow streets of Paris, have been exposed to a hand-to-hand scuffle with the people. Then the *Volkstaat*[19] also gives an incorrect account of the strike at Creuzot. It is not true that the workmen demand higher wages and a diminution of the hours of labour. They simply requested to have the management of their sick fund in their own hands and not in those of M. Schneider, further that their fellow-workman *Assy* should not be sent away and that an under-master who had oppressed them, should be dismissed. These are the true causes of the strike. The French Government and the official press declare them to be due '*à l'excitation artificielle*'. M. Guéroult, of the *Opinion Nationale*,[21] '*montre les sociétés secrètes dominant, donnant des mots d'ordre et des consignes*' [points to the dominating secret societies which give the watchwords and directives].

These societies are of course, the International, from which Assy, the leader of the strike, is said to have received 55,000 frs. *The Times* reprints these statements and endorses them. Would they were true! It is a thousand pities the International cannot keep pace in its doings with the brilliant imaginings of these worthies. It is a significant fact that some of the soldiers sent to Creuzot at once fraternised with the miners. Four of these soldiers are to be tried for having attempted to enlist their comrades in the people's cause.

In Yorkshire a strike has also taken place, the workmen claiming the management of their own sick fund and protesting against the refusal of the employers to allow the men to combine. As ever since the year 1824 the right of combination has been legalised in England, the masters are in fact acting in direct opposition to the laws of the country notwithstanding which the Government supplies them with soldiers to do their bidding. The particulars of the strike are exactly like those of Creuzot—free constitutional

[17]'that the people *did not know how to die* for their convictions', 'that they did not hold aloft the red flag'. 'the revolutionaries were men of courage, men of principle, who fought for ideas, and who were well aware that neither guns, nor rifles, nor bayonets, would avail against the *naked breast* of the people demanding their rights.'

[18]The 'Men of December' were those who in December, 1849, helped Louis Napoleon in his *coup d'état*.

[19]*Volkstaat*, organ of the German Social Democratic Party, edited by Liebknecht and published from 1869 to 1874.

[20]A. Guéroult, French liberal journalist, editor of *L'Opinion Nationale*, and author of a history of the International.

[21]Moderate French liberal paper.

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England and despot-ridden France do not differ—both countries have soldiers ready at hand to shoot down the men who have the courage to assert that they think they have intelligence enough to manage their own funds—their hard earned savings. According to an estimate made by a correspondent to one of the English papers staying at Creuzot—the workmen lose by the strike *£8,000* a day (wages) whilst the loss to the masters is about *£40,000* (!!) a day. . . .

I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

JENNY MARX.

[*In this letter Jenny tells of the supposed plot against the life of Louis Bonaparte which was used as a pretext for an attack on the International.*]

May 8, 1870.

Many many thanks my dear Mr. and Mrs. Kugelmann for the beautiful presents you have sent me. I don't know which delight me more—the engravings or the songs—my eyes and ears are equally busy. The studs have given Mohr great pleasure, and indeed the flowers are most artistically worked. He is also delighted with the tapestry of Leibnitz[1] and has already given it a place in his study, where we have stuck it on the wall over the mantelpiece. . . .

I also have to thank you—last though not least—for your kind letters and good wishes for my birthday. I was *very* sorry to hear that you, dear 'doctor', are again unwell, and trust soon to have a better account. Mohr also is far from well, having caught a very severe cold. All the other inmates of Modena Villa, four cats and dog included, are well; but in a great hubbub, in which they have been ever since last Sunday, when the news came from Paris that a plot against Bonaparte's life[2] had been discovered. Of course you have seen from the German papers that the imbecile French Government, attempted at first to implicate the International in this affair, and that a great number of its members, forming the Paris and Lyons branches of the International, have been arrested. The flunkeys of the English and French press of course availed themselves of this opportunity to make furious onslaught on the International and to call upon their respective Governments to suppress

[1]Leibnitz was a maker of tapestry for whom Marx had expressed his admiration in a letter to Dr. Kugelmann.

[2]Louis Napoleon's police claimed to have discovered a plot against his life. It was generally believed to have been a police provocation to be used as a pretext for suppressing the International in France.

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that odious Association as the root of all evils. For all that, the French Government has however been obliged to declare that the International has nothing to do with the plot and that its members are solely being prosecuted for the crime of belonging to an 'illicit society'. Mohr has written a declaration, unanimously adopted by the General Council, in which he repudiates any complicity of the International in the affair.[3]

According to the French Government M. Gustave Flourens[4] is deeply implicated in the plot, and as that gentleman is in England, the French government has been secretly asking the English government to deliver him up; but Mr. Gladstone, who is well aware that the doing so would cost him his premiership (as it did Palmerston in the case of Simon Bernard), declares that the ministry can do nothing in the matter without further proofs of M. Flourens' culpability. But in reality there are no proofs against M. Flourens in the hands of the French government, for granted it be proved that he sent money to Paris for the purpose of arming the people with bombs in case an insurrection should break out, that does not imply that he had anything to do with the intended assassination of the Emperor. Last Sunday (my birthday) when the news of the discovered 'complot' reached us M. Flourens was at our house—so you can imagine that my birthday was anything but a tranquil or a gay one. We did not know at the time but what M. Flourens might not be at once arrested. He is the son of the celebrated naturalist of that name and has himself written a book on ethnography and delivered lectures at the Collège de France. He is a most extraordinary mixture of a savant and an *homme d'action* (man of action).

The good result of the plot is that it has forced the man of December to throw off his liberal mask and to show himself in his true colours. A system of '*blanche terreur*' (white terror) prevails at Paris, yesterday all the opposition papers were confiscated, the people are being goaded to a state of desperation. There is no knowing what will happen to-day!

I continue to write to the *Marseillaise*,[5] several of my letters have been quoted in the *Irishman*,[6] the national paper of Ireland. At present I am waiting for news from Ireland concerning the treatment of the political prisoners. If I do not soon receive an answer

[3]This Declaration of the General Council was published in *La Liberté* on May 8, 1870.

[4]Gustave Flourens (1838-1871), an ardent revolutionary. Blanquist and member of the International. He was killed during one of the battles of the Commune.

[5]Jenny Marx, under the pseudonym of J. Williams, wrote a series of eight articles between February and May, 1870, on the Fenians for Rochefort's paper *La Marseillaise*. They created a sensation and were quoted in many English papers.

[6]The *Irishman*, a moderate Liberal paper edited by Pigott.

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I shall begin to think that the letter I have written to the wives of the prisoners has been intercepted by the British Government. Unluckily I signed my real name! Post-time. Kiss dear Franzchen for me, my good Trautchen and with ever so many thanks for your kindness,

Believe me,

Affectionately yours,

JENNY.

[*This letter throws light on the treatment of the Fenian prisoners in England: and makes a first reference to the Franco-Prussian War.*]

July 17, 1870.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,

I hope you do not think that laziness or negligence has had anything to do with my silence. The fact is, that I no sooner received your letter than I wrote to Mr. Pigott, the editor of the *Irishman* to enquire of him where I could obtain a photograph of O'Donovan Rossa. Mr. Pigott wrote to say that he was unable to give me any information on the subject (the British Government does not allow the portraits of the Fenians to be sold) but that he had sent my letter to Mrs. Rossa, as that lady could perhaps procure for me a photograph of her husband. Now I have waited from day to day for a letter from Mrs. Rossa—but in vain—and as I think it will be of no use to wait any longer, I write these lines to ask you whether the enclosed print, which appeared some time ago in the *Irishman* will be of any use to Mr. Rissé? It certainly is a very bad likeness—but it is better than nothing. It would be a thousand pities to give up the excellent plan of publishing Rossa's portrait. Its publication would greatly annoy John Bull—for the British Government dreads nothing so much as that the infamous treatment of the Fenian prisoners should become known on the continent. Indeed, the Prison Enquiry is solely got up for the purpose of hushing up the unpleasant truths that were oozing out. On the eve of the Enquiry, the pretended object of which is to elucidate things, the prisoners are *more closely guarded than ever,* lest they might inform their friends of the treatment they are undergoing. A few days ago Mrs. Luby,[1] wife of one of the prisoners, visited her husband to bear to him the tidings of his mother's death (grief for her son's sufferings hastened Mrs. Luby's death), and though the unfortunate woman had not seen her husband since *three* years, she was not

[1]Thomas Clare Luby (1821-1901). Irish Fenian leader.

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allowed to see him face to face without the intrusion of a jailor. Mrs. Luby was led into one huge iron cage grated with heavy iron bars, Luby was brought from his cell to another cage grated also with heavy iron bars, apart from that in which the wife was detained. A jailor stood close beside the prisoner, watchful, ready to interfere should he utter a word relative to the prison treatment. But poor Luby had no need to complain—his pallid shrunk and shrivelled form spoke but too eloquently of a tale of horrors. The fact is that Mrs. Luby did not even recognise her husband—so altered and aged does he look. The friends of the prisoners being thus carefully excluded, the evidence of the prisoners suppressed, it is not difficult to guess that the whole commission will turn out to be a regular sham from beginning to end. As the governors, jailors and warders are to have it all their own way in the coming enquiry, the end of it all will be that the venal scribes of the press will be enabled to paint in glowing colours the amenities of English prison life and to brand the statements of O'Donovan Rossa as so many lies. . . .

As regards Carlsbad I am sorry to say that thanks to that desperate gambler at Paris our long projected voyage has come to nothing. To travel without a passport is of course an impossibility in the present state of affairs and to obtain one equally out of the question. Even to naturalised Englishmen the British Government refuses passports. But Mohr will himself write to you on the subject. Tell Trautchen I will also write to her in a few days to give vent to my disappointment—and please will you also tell that lady that I think she has grown unconscionably lazy. I have not heard from her for months.

What do you think of the war?[2] We have not yet recovered from our surprise and indignation at the turn affairs have taken. It is not easy to reconcile oneself to the thought that instead of fighting for the destruction of the Empire, the French people are sacrificing themselves for its aggrandisement, that instead of hanging Bonaparte they are prepared to enlist themselves under his banner. Who could have dreamt of such things a few months ago when the revolution in Paris seemed a fact. This revival of *chauvinisme* in the 19th century is indeed a hideous farce! . . . .

Believe me, dear 'Doctor',

Very faithfully yours,

JENNY MARX.

[2]The Franco-Prussian war which began in July, 1870.

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YOUTH AT WORK

FRANK STANLEY

JUST over eleven years ago, a few short months after the defeat of fascism, the historic Trades Union Congress of 1945 adopted a resolution on Young Persons in Industry which demanded 'fundamental changes governing the employment of young people in industry and commerce'. The resolution was a veritable Youth Charter, designed to protect the health of adolescent workers from the rapacious demands of capitalist industry for long working days and the minimum of holidays; and to ensure the greatest possible fulfilment for young people through manifold opportunities for apprenticeships, training and promotion. It epitomised the concern of the trade union movement for the future of young trade unionists, and indeed for the future of Britain, and urged all affiliated unions to strive to secure the realisation of its objectives 'as a vital part of their immediate programme'.

This concern is no less vital today when events are forcing consideration of the future in quite startling and exciting ways. The great liberating forces that have been released in many parts of the world make possible new international relationships, while the developments of new techniques in industry make discernible, with social changes, the rapid fulfilment of all man's material requirements. The trade unions have an important part to play in meeting the challenge of the future, and no one more important in the trade unions than the young people, without whom there can be no future. Yet what happened at the 1956 Brighton Trades Union Congress?

A resolution proposing an Annual Youth Conference and the establishment of a National Youth Advisory Committee (similar to the National Women's Advisory Committee), despite progressive decisions in other fields, was defeated. Two lines of argument were heard. The view that eventually prevailed went as follows: full participation in the adult movement provided better training 'for service to the Union and representation at the T.U.C.' (Dame Florence Hancock for the General Council, *Manchester Guardian*, 5.9.56); an advisory committee and special conference was 'molly-coddling' —'how will they eventually be able to carry the torch of the movement if they don't know where to take it, if they have spent all their time talking among themselves about their own problems instead of joining in the discussions of the adult movement?' (Mr. J. Bryce, Civil

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Service Clerical Association); 'if the T.U.C. set up a youth conference, the delegates to it would naturally demand the right to express their opinions freely and reach their own decisions. Chaos would follow if such decisions were contrary to those reached by the T.U.C. The movement had to speak with a united voice' (Mr. J. Cooper, General and Municipal Workers); 'youth would hold its conferences at holiday camps and devote little time to serious subjects' (Mr. J. W. Wardle, Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen). It was also argued that previous youth sections had led to trouble and had fallen apart.

But the fact is that, apart from the importance of recruiting youth into the trade union movement, young people in industry have very special problems of their own, of training within each industry, of wages (to cover cost of living at home or in digs, buying clothes, tools, etc.), of sport and other recreational and cultural needs. Then there is the disruption caused by the period of national Service and the difficulty of readjustment on return (often not helped by the employers' attitude), and marriage and housing.

So, *for* the resolution it was argued that the successful solution of these problems demands the participation of the young people themselves, a participation which can only be secured if provision is made for bringing the young people together in some way in addition, or supplementary to, the existing trade union organisation. An advisory committee and youth conference would focus attention on the problems of young workers and give them a special place to state their views. Mr. P. H. Maurice of the Clerical and Administrative Workers in proposing the motion said that 'although the task of recruiting youth into the movement, encouraging them and training them to become the officials and supporters of the future had to be left mainly to the individual unions, Congress could still give an important lead' (*Manchester Guardian,* 5.9.56).

It would, of course, be incorrect to suggest that the trade union movement as a whole has ignored this crucial problem. Valiant efforts have been made by some trade unions on the lines of taking practical steps of a progressive character in paying attention to the problems of young workers and for bringing them more into the life of the organisation. The work of the Scottish area of the National Union of Mineworkers is particularly worthy of mention. Here there is not only provision for the co-option of younger representatives to branch committees, but from these the formation of the area youth committee. One youth delegate is also elected from the area

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youth committee to attend the area executive committee. These young miners have the right to speak on any subject, and therefore gain valuable experience at all levels. As a result of this, and through the annual youth conference and other activities both educational and social, more young people than ever are holding responsible positions in the branches, and are helping to shape the policy of the union. The Amalgamated Engineering Union and the Electrical Trades Union also hold annual youth conferences, and have established junior workers' committees or hold youth conferences respectively in many areas, as well as both week and weekend residential schools which have been particularly successful.

These are all positive developments which will stand those trade unions in good stead for the future, but these unfortunately have to be seen as the exception in the movement generally, and not the rule. The 1956 T.U.C. decisions on peace, automation, the 40-hour week, wages, can only be fully realised by the whole movement drawing on the energy and enthusiasm of the young trade unionist. Every Congress delegate and every active trade unionist should reflect on how far the general position today matches up to the spirit of the 1945 resolution. What tremendous forces would now be available within the trade union and progressive labour movement were we able to record a substantial realisation of those objectives, in terms both of capacity to meet the challenge of events, and in the staffing of the ranks of leadership at all levels.

Among the older trade unionists in the factories, pits and yards, a new conception needs to be fought for. It is in the places of work where the young workers are every day that they either learn the value to them of trade union organisation, or if the organisation displays a negative attitude toward them and their problems, they will have no regard for the trade union movement. In many establishments where there is good trade union organisation there is an attitude that the movement should not interest itself in young workers joining their appropriate trade union until they reach adult age. This lack of regard is also shown toward the wages of young workers, their training if apprenticed and general conditions of work. No wonder that many young workers feel that trade unions are something for the élite, but not for them.

On the other hand, many factories and yards have enabled apprentices and other young workers to form their own apprentice or youth committees as important adjuncts to the yard and shop stewards committees. In many of these and other factories, the

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trade unions take a direct interest in and negotiate on behalf of, young workers, on training, wages and other aspects of the job. It is here that the young workers feel a part of the movement and are encouraged to make their contribution to it.

There is no doubt that great exploitation is made of young workers in industry, both youth and girls. The pernicious 'wage for age' standard, irrespective of work performed, is something that the trade union movement ought to have overcome years ago. This system has been with us for so long that it tends to become accepted as part of the regular order of things. It is a feature on which young workers are most vocal, and is an issue which the movement needs to treat much more urgently.

Wages, training, and working conditions are very important considerations for young workers, but they all have a life outside the shop, yard, pit or office, and it is in this respect that the trade unions have a very important need to fulfil. The effects of capitalist economy in Britain with its restriction of youth clubs, playing fields, etc., accentuates the need of young people for adequate sports and cultural facilities. But even within this, efforts are made by forces in opposition to the working class movement to provide some facilities as the basis for winning young people to ideas alien to the needs of the working class.* It is in this field especially that the trade unions can do much more in filling the need of young workers for sport and cultural facilities, and in so doing enlivening trade union life for the membership generally.

The problem of work among young people is not just a question of provision of facilities, but of helping them to be aware of themselves as a force, to be aware of the challenge of the future. The problem of youth is also the problem of the future of the working class itself; the average age of regular attenders at trade union branch meetings is something that must give the deepest concern to every active trade unionist. The ability of British youth to make sacrifices is beyond question; it suffered willingly though grievously during the last World War, and there is no section better suited to meet the challenge of the future that life places before us. The whole labour movement is badly in need of our young workers, if it is to do the job that is demanded of it in relation to the great issues of the day. The youth in turn need the experience and service of the working class movement. It is only with both these forces that the future of the British people can be assured.

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*See *Youth Under the Microscope*, *Labour Monthly*, February, 1956.

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LABOUR DISCUSSION FORUM

LAST MONTH'*s letter from J. Evans demanding 'the right to overtime' until the basic rate has been pushed up 75 per cent., started arguments everywhere. It found its way onto the agenda of shop stewards' committees and trade union branches, to my knowledge. Here, youth answers youth; the Forum also contains letters on housing finance and rents amongst other subjects, from a Labour councillor, a co-operator and two under twenty-fives. Correspondents are asked to give their organisations (not necessarily for publication) and to keep letters* short. *Last day for February issue: Thursday, January 10. Please address to:*

THE EDITOR, LABOUR DISCUSSION FORUM,
134, Ballard's Lane,
London, N.3.

★

Overtime and the Basic Lolly

The letter by J. Evans on overtime reminded me of the story of the 'oozlum bird', who sticks its head in the sand, and whistles from its tail. Or thereabouts. I think it is true to say that a great deal of overtime is worked in industry. Also, it is an undoubted fact that in all branches of industry, great dissatisfaction is expressed about basic rates. Of course, money is needed; so overtime is put in by the boys, to pay off the H.P. and the rent, etc. But brother, what's the answer to the rising cost of living? Ask your missus, when you see her next, how she is going to manage on a frozen wage with the way things are going. Longer hours to meet the higher cost? If so, we can look forward to sleeping under our benches for a few hours, to be early enough to begin working in the morning, without 'wasting' time by going home. If you are going to wait 'until the basic rate is forced up at least 75 per cent', you and I will do an awful lot of waiting. But some are prepared to do the 'forcing'.

Overtime in the amount which Evans and those like him work is surely not only bad for the health but can cause strain and unhappy relations in the family. After all, chum, what's the use of all the lovely lolly if we don't get the time to enjoy it with our families?

I stand by the principle, which is surely that of all trade unionists, to fight against exploitation. This is not only operated from above, but from below; the rank and file, in fact, must be the hardest fighters on principle. This is surely correct, because we after all are the boys 'on the job'. Apathy does exist amongst some people; but I think Evans is using it as an excuse. Personal example counts a lot, mate. The lousy conditions in industry today are creating people who will stand up and fight to put things right.

This stand on principle, against long hours and exploitation, is one which has to be firmly established in this present period where a new generation of trade unionists have this challenge before them. We

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can't allow ourselves to be blinded, head-in-the-sand-fashion, by over-emphasised apathy. You, Mr. Evans, made an example out of your mate for not attending union branch meetings. It's small wonder, if your views are all he hears about improving conditions. Who can blame him for thinking the union's a dead loss?

Evans makes an interesting comparison between the slave-owner and his boss, but his boss only sells them 'by the week, not for life'. How much of life are you seeing, brother, after you've worked 80 hours? I've had enough after 44. I've always looked to contract workers with a special envy. Because they have the opportunity to force the boss to pay up more, simply because he can't mess *his* customer about too much by taking too long on the contract.

I believe that it's time for some straight thinking and talking to be done by all of us unionists. The wage battle (basic rate) should start now in the factories and sites. And in fact I know that it has begun already. This would provide the big spur to our union heads for them really to see for themselves that the boys mean business. Their fight would be a lot clearer and sharper because of this, and would speed the achievement of a greater over-all increase in the basic. In my factory the start has been made, as a result of real feeling. Meetings of the unions on the sites and in the factories are recognised as beneficial when they concern themselves with the major problems facing the lads, particularly the lolly question.

So please, Mr. Evans, stop whistling 'what can we do' out of your tail.

JOHN DELAHAY (*aged 22*),
Kent.

Young Communist League,
Sheet Metal Worker.

Boss Dangles Bait

Only one answer can be given to J. Evans in his demand for the 'right to overtime': stick to trade union principles. Your demand is *not* a worker's demand; it is an employer's demand. Doling out the overtime is the employers' way of keeping the basic rate down. That is all they care about; because exactly to the degree that they keep it down, they push profits up. When there come the recessions, cut-backs, crises—usually of their own making, like Butler's credit squeeze or Eden's Suez venture—they lop off the overtime and shift the burden on to the charlies like Evans. (Ask the man in the motor industry!) Then, if he doesn't watch himself, Evans will be on his knees asking for other men's jobs. Until then the employers can weaken the men all along the line: 'if you won't work it, Evans always will'. It is a tough job pushing up the basic rate where men like Evans won't stand firm on union rules and principles. On the one hand the employers start witch-hunting in the unions; on the other, they provoke 'pools of unemployment' in some sections; and all the time they dangle the bait of overtime. Evans is a young fellow and he may not realise this to the full; but it is because of people like him that the employers have just felt strong enough to reject any increase in the basic rate.

A. LEWIS,
Glos.

The Last Long Rent Ramp

Katherine Hood's valuable article discussing the Rent Bill remarks that the Government's purpose is to restore the attractiveness of house-letting as an investment proposition. I feel very doubtful whether this is true. It runs counter to the evident aim of the Conservatives and their

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Government to compel as many as possible to become owner-occupiers (the 'property-owning democracy') by shrinking municipal housebuilding and improving financial facilities for house-purchasers. The present Government cannot be unaware that property investors have taken no interest in adding to the stock of working-class houses occupied by rent-paying tenants since about the beginning of this present century—indeed, of houses for any class of persons. Aside from flats, all new building has been for sale. Whether or not, we have no reason to suppose that de-control will have any such influence on investors.

There was no control over *new* houses under the 1920 Rent Act, but that did not encourage investors to build for letting, in the 1920s and '30s. Nor did the progressive de-control of houses in that period stipulate investors, who might well have thought rent control was in process of total disappearance with a field for unrestricted rack rentals opening up for them. In 1956, we have a more powerful Labour Party than before 1939 and it has made it plain that rent de-control is opposed and that rented houses are to be municipalised: can we imagine, and can the Government imagine, that investors will risk a single penny with such a grim prospect when they would risk nothing even in the happier-seeming circumstances of 1920 to 1939? My point is important in relation to the role of the local authorities as providers of rented homes. If Katherine Hood (and the Government, on her interpretation) is right, then we shall have difficulty in securing a massive revival of municipal house-building. If, however, she is wrong but her assumption influences the policy of the Labour movement, then we will be journeying towards a mirage.

May I offer an alternative interpretation of Government motives? Primarily, the purpose of de-control and higher rents is to secure a fuller use of existing houses by means of the coercive inducement upon householders to squeeze-up when faced by higher rents. Thereby pressure upon the local authorities to provide homes would be relaxed. The pretence that housing scarcity is nearly conquered could the more brazenly be put forward.

A secondary, and subsequent motive, is to enable landlords to sell their properties at a nice figure to sitting tenants (sitting pigeons?), or, if they can't find the money, to anyone else anxious to secure a home, even at a preposterous price. Without such an opportunity as Landlords are to be given by the *total* de-control of *all* dwellings whatsoever which the Bill will quite speedily bring about, property owners will be overtaken by a Labour Government's municipalisation, with compensation far less substantial than the proceeds from private sales conducted under the shadow of a threatened notice to quit—or with vacant possession.

This Bill is not a Rent Bill, but a De-Control Bill for enabling landlords to embark upon the biggest ramp of all time before the dark night of municipalisation extinguishes them for evermore.

TOM VERNON, *London, W.2.*

Plan to Finance Housing

The Labour Party has failed so far to come into serious grips with the housing question: because the problem of housing is fundamentally one of finance, and national finance itself (in the wider sense) has never yet been tackled on anything resembling socialistic lines. Finance, in theory and in practice, is undoubtedly the crux of the housing

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problem: how to find the money to build houses, and how to keep rents at a socially just level. I would suggest the following principles:

(1) It is not right or socially desirable that one man or a company of men should own the habitation of another, except temporarily or in exceptional circumstances.

(2) The provision of houses in adequate numbers, as constituting one of the prime necessaries of life, is a first responsibility of public authorities.

(3) Neither the state nor any other public authority should pay 'interest' to individuals, non-representative corporations or subordinate authorities.

(4) As finance means economic power and direction, and since therefore the control of finance entails economic governance, the progressive transference of financial potential into public hands is one of the surest ways of effecting the gradual socialistic transformation of the economy.

In agreement with these principles a financial scheme on the following lines might be put forward for consideration. Let a revolving housing fund be formed to which the Treasury would contribute an annual sum of, say, £200 million. The amount annually entering the fund shall be rationed out to interested local authorities for housing purposes as loans free of interest but repayable in full at the rate of, say, 2½ per cent per annum, that is in forty annual instalments; the repayments to be placed in the central fund each year for the augmentation of the loanable sum in the following year. The fund would grow fairly rapidly, so that at the end of the tenth year something over £250 million would be available for lending out the following year. The repayment rate could of course vary either way from 2½ per cent, whether generally or in particular cases, and the use of the loans might be confined for a period to the actual building of new houses. Later it could be permitted that a proportion of a loan be used to buy houses or to repair privately owned houses, in which latter case a local authority might be empowered to levy a permanent annual charge on the repaired property, deductable from the rent, up to, say, 4 per cent per annum.

Amongst obvious benefits arising from it would be the stabilisation of the prospects of the building industry and its ancillary trades. Another would be the gradual freeing of one important sector of the national economy from the burden of interest charges.

By what method the Treasury would raise the £200 million per annum—whether or not some of it might be found by docking the present housing grants, for instance —is a question worthy of study.

E. L. VAUGHAN.
Caersws.

Home and Abroad, the Same Foe

Bob Henderson is perfectly right in my opinion; but his arguments don't seem to me to be quite convincing. Surely the fight against imperialism and for better standards of living at home is against one enemy—monopoly capitalism. How to unify the fight is the problem. Monopoly capitalism can only exist on the basis of super profits from the exploitation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. If these peoples adopt the 'scorched earth' policy of cutting oil pipe lines and blocking the Suez Canal it only underlines the bitterness they have for monopoly capitalism (no peoples would adopt such a 'scorched earth' policy with all its consequences to

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themselves if they could see any more effective weapon to defeat a fully militarised enemy).

The invasion of Egypt has proved that it isn't the canal facilities or the oil that British and French monopoly capitalism wanted to safeguard but the profits—nay, more—the super-profits they could get from an imperialist-controlled exploitation. For Egypt showed that they were perfectly willing *and* able to run their own canal and the other Arabian countries were obviously ready to go on supplying oil—on equal terms. Egypt began to find alternative markets for its chief product cotton with the Socialist countries and People's Democracies in return for capital goods thus infuriating the monopolists to suicidal action.

So in addition to recognising all colonial countries as equals, i.e., that they have the right to manage their own affairs as they wish, we should couple this with a demand for the extension of trade with the socialist and ex-colonial countries on an equal basis together with a demand for a drastic reduction of armaments (which are essentially the tool today of the monopoly capitalists). It is this prospect of trade on equal terms, especially with the Socialist and ex-colonial countries which can materially assist our struggle to maintain our present standards and in fact increase them. Just as this is in our own interests, it is important to point out that it is in the interests of all the peoples with whom trade is done in this way, as *their* standards will also increase. It is in fact an international fight. Every success in this direction, no matter in what quarter of the world will weaken the monopoly capitalists' economy of super-profit making but will strengthen our fight against them.

H. RATHBONE,
London, N.

Conscription and Colonies

A distressing feature nowadays is that Tory propaganda (and indeed Right-wing Labour) has succeeded in convincing youth that it is unpatriotic to refuse to do two years military service. We must treat the working classes in our colonies as brothers and not as a breed of coloured foreigners with no connection with us whatsoever. Our mutual enemy is capitalism and the Tory government, and the best way in which we can indirectly aid our coloured brothers is to refuse to maintain the means by which the imperialists retain their hold over the colonies.

Whilst the working-class youth continues to believe Tory propaganda, and the Labour Party's policy remains little more than a compromise, eighteen-year-old lads and upwards will be faced with the corrupting influence of National Service. National Service is a fundamental problem and unless it is fairly faced up to by the labour movement as a whole, one great barrier to genuine socialism will remain, and most important of all, also a bulwark of monopoly capitalism, imperialism.

I am now a conscientious objector, awaiting prison in 1957. I based my case on an objection to being used as an imperialist stooge in our colonies. I cannot reconcile my principles with carrying through the 'dirty work' of our government in Malaya, Kenya, Cyprus, and Suez.

ALAN R. BENNETT (*aged 18*),
Poole.

(A large number of letters commenting on Mr. Silverman's article and other letters on the Overtime Ban question were received just too late for publication this time. We may be able to get some next month. Please note, correspondents: any letter over 750 words has hardly a chance.)

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Putting it briefly . . .

On Hungary, even on the facts as given by you and Ivor Montagu in the December issue, I do not think Russia's action can be condoned. I can well believe that the Fascists were present in strength. I can well believe that an attempt to restore Fascism would have been made. What I cannot believe is that the workers and peasants, armed and activated as they were and having experienced Fascism, would have sat down tamely under such an attempt. It may be that they could not, unaided, have defeated the attempt, but at least they would have resisted, and violently. Once that situation had developed the Russians could, if necessary, have intervened on the side of the workers and against the Fascists. As it is, they have intervened against the workers, which is surely the one unforgiveable sin. As the West have not intervened as it is, there is no reason to believe that they would have intervened in any event.—*R.F.B,. London.*

Recent events in Hungary must be seen in perspective. From 1918-45 Hungary was in essentials a fascist state politically, and a semi-feudal state economically, especially agriculturally. All this was reinforced by systematic repression presided over by Admiral Horthy and his White Guard associates. Previously the Hungarians had enjoyed a semi-privileged position under the old Dual-Monarchy and ramshackle Hapsburg Dynasty, policing the Slavs and other lesser breeds. The effects of this historic background naturally penetrated deeply into the consciousness of the masses and could not be eradicated in a decade. —*R.G., Birmingham.*

Mr. S. Silverman is right regarding the Labour Party's attitude to Communist Parties in Communist Government run countries: wrong about the British C.P. being unnecessary. If the C.P. is unnecessary, so is Mr. Silverman's no hanging bill, so is the Bevan group, so is the Trade Union movement and many more bodies who are working for peace and socialism. It appears to me, that now the Labour Party has become a leading political party of Britain, certain M.P.s seem to think they can manage without all the organisations which have put the Labour Party where it is today. We in Britain will never achieve Socialism under the present political set-up in the Labour Party and if certain Labour leaders, along with the Tory Party, succeed in abolishing the C.P.. Left Wing Labour and Trade Unions would be the next on the list. Most of my political enlightenment has come from so-called proscribed bodies. The Labour Party has not even a daily press to put over a progressive point of view.—*S.S., Sheffield.*

★

[*This month's prize of* ONE GUINEA *is awarded to John Delahay for his letter on* 'OVERTIME AND THE BASIC LOLLY'.]

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Book Reviews

NUCLEAR WAR EFFECTS

Unmeasured Hazards: An analysis of the effects of tests of Atomic and Thermonuclear Weapons. (40 pp. World Federation of Scientific Workers. *2s.*)

Nuclear Explosions and Their Effects. (184 pp. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. Foreword by Jawaharlal Nehru. *7s. 6d.*)

THE first of these is a good factual summary of present knowledge concerning the menace of nuclear weapons tests. It has been written by United States, British and French and Japanese scientists, but this division does not show up in the writing. It presents a cogent case for suspension of tests as a prelude to further steps in controlled disarmament. The crucial technical issue which makes such a suspension feasible is fully explained: nuclear explosions are global events and cannot be concealed. The booklet is up-to-date to June, 1956, and has a useful list of references: how rare this is in pamphlets. It is clearly written and deserves to be widely read.

The Indian book is much more detailed and roughly parallels the official British and United States Reports on radiation dangers which have appeared this year. But there is a big difference in the tone of the reports. Few responsible scientists would now deny, at least in private, that the scientific case against the tests is very strong. But the British and United States scientists were writing for governments which were committed to nuclear tests whatever the facts might show. The resulting inconsistencies and strains in their reports have already been noticed. The Indians, on the other hand, were backed by a Government which has set its face against nuclear sabre-rattling of any kind. Their Report in consequence has no need to play down or evade crucial issues. Lucid throughout, it covers most of the ground. It is strongest, as might be expected, on fallout and its dangers. Charts are used, with good effect, to summarise information; they form admirable lecture-notes. Apologists for continued testing are firmly opposed; and this, in an official publication, is very heartening to ourselves in the West. One almost feels that victory is in sight. It is to be hoped that this book will become generally available here as its appeal is likely to be widespread.

D. G. ARNOTT.

WHICH WAY IN FICTION?

After the Thirties: The Novel in Britain and its Future, by Jack Lindsay. (239 pp. Lawrence & Wishart. *15s.*)

IN the first part of this book Jack Lindsay considers the present crisis in the novel and in literature generally against the background of the last thirty years, and in the second part he relates it to the whole historical development of culture. The origins of the crisis he sees in the decay of capitalism and the disintegration of its ideology, and in the advance of socialism and science. In this advance a new consciousness is taking form out of the conflict with the old. If literature is to continue its great traditions of humanism, writers must identify themselves with this advance and assist the new consciousness to find expression. Reviewing the writing of the thirties, Jack Lindsay brings out how this new consciousness was in fact finding expression in novels, poems, plays, criticism and history. This reminder of how much good work was then being done which the

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official historians of literature would now like to expunge from the records, is timely and valuable.

Jack Lindsay's treatment of the writing done after the thirties I find less satisfactory. His critical standard—that literature must express the new consciousness arising out of the advance of socialism and science is unquestionably true. But in applying that standard to the work of the last fifteen years, he insists so strongly on what writers should be that he does not always see what they are. Few of them have that spirit of proletarian partisanship which he asks of them; but the spirit of humanism to which the proletariat must give political leadership is finding more varied, more subtle and richer expression than one might think from this book. To understand the crisis in literature we need the general historical perspective given by Jack Lindsay; but we also need a more exact assessment of the conflicting trends in the crisis today.

ALICK WEST.

LIFE IN THE U.S.S.R.

Ivan the Not-so-Terrible, by Archie Johnstone. (164 pp. British Soviet Friendship Society. *7s. 6d.*)

THIS is a book about Russia which does not fit into any of the usual categories. Nor does the author. He is a dour silent Scot who always has a twinkle in his eye and never stops talking. His unquenchable interest in people as people makes these chattily written magazine articles a vivid answer to the question: the Russians—are they human? These little sketches are about the everyday things of life in Russia, but they are told with wit and humour as only Archie Johnstone can do it, and with a skilled instinct for what interests the ordinary person. At the same time these sidelights on Russian language, life, scenery and customs reveal more of the human essence of socialist society than much ponderous political analysis. That gives the book its special value.

C.P.D.

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

CRISIS IN 1931

The British bourgeoisie, driven to desperation by ten long years of economic crisis, has formed its National Government. The credit crisis in Austria and Germany in July of last year shook British finance to such an extent that the Labour Government were appalled by the magnitude of the crisis. Despite their willingness to enforce economies to the extent of £56,000,000 at the expense of the working class they had to make way for a ruthless dictatorship which would attempt to ride roughshod over the working class.

From *The Government of Hunger and War,* by William Joss, January, 1932.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

PAMPHLETS

Marx House: Its History and Traditions. Marx Memorial Library. (8 pp. 1s.)
The Irish Case Against Partition, by Desmond Greaves. (36 pp. Connolly Association. 1s.)
Music in Rumania, by Leonard Cassini. Fore Publications. 72 pp. 2s 6d.
World Socialism Re-stated, by G. D. H. Cole. New Statesman. 48 pp. 1s 6d.
The Church in Rumania, by Stanley Evans. British Rumanian Friendship Association. 32 pp. 1s.
Russia Reviewed, by Stanley Evans. Religion and the People. 12 pp. 9d.
A Co-operative Approach to Socialism by Paul Derrick. Socialist Christian League. 64 pp. 2s.

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(*Continued from page ii of cover*)

array as *Socialist Digest*. So once again the years-old attempt to produce a Transport House monthly to compete with *L.M.* has failed. Two years ago, long before prices really rose, *The Times* regarded it as impossible for a political periodical to survive without 'substantial backing in the form of a publishing house, a national newspaper or an international organisation'. Well, we survived, supported as always only by our readers. And, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen, we shall continue to survive.

But our production costs had risen, and by dangerous percentages, before the deadly effect of Suez began. For example, rent, rates heating, lighting: 19 per cent. Despatch and freight: 18 per cent. Telephones: 12 per cent. Printing: 10 per cent. Also paper, advertising charges, stationery—all up. Except one figure, *down* by 11 per cent.—our donations. Amongst our gallant fund regulars, by far the majority have been backing us for many years, way back beyond 1948. We ask all our readers: what can be done to find new regulars and double our monthly fund at least? The trouble is that the burden is borne by too few, some of whom have been steadily giving regularly for many years. You know their names; more than a third of those appearing in this month's list were already regulars in 1948. They have always been aware of the struggle as if it were their own, as indeed it is. I quote from an observant reader sending his December contribution: 'Of late, so far as I can see, the response to your monthly appeal hasn't been so good: the total for October reaching a new low level of only £23 odd. I only wish I could send you a larger sum. It would be such a pity if *L.M.* should have to raise its price yet again'. True, the months vary according to how many subscribers are due to renew. Yet the donations received during November for the past nine years are as follows: £40; £53; £72; £71; £46; £38; £38; £34; and now November totalled:

£31 10s. 6d.

REGULAR CONTRIBUTIONS came from: 'California', in memory of Dr. Norman Bethune, £1; 'A Highgate Reader', £2; 'Swansea', 10s; Anon, 'Whitchurch' (prepaid); A.M.T. for Fernando and Guilherme, Portugal, 1s; 'Socialist Sailor', £1; Olivia Greene, £4; R. McLeod, 5s; H.G.B., 2s; M. Philibert, 10s; S. Mill, 10s; 'Republican', 3s; R.F.B., £3; E. D. McCallum, 5s; D. Rees, 10s; D. M. Clarke, 10s; The Humphreys Family, 4s; D. H. Strathern and friends, 6s; H. Tinkler, 5s; D. Smith, 5s; S. Morrissy, 10s; T. Flood, 2s 6d; E.J.B., 10s; P. N. Brinson, 10s; J. A. Purton, 7s 6d.

J. Evans, December prize-winner in our Labour Discussion Forum, says: 'I didn't write for a prize but because thousands of blokes who aren't pulling in craftsman's money are in the same boat about wages and overtime, and it's time it was said straight out. So I'm giving half the prize to the wife and here's half for the Fund'. 10s 6d.

OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS include: S. J. Berry, £1 4s; E. Midgley, 10s; W. A. Topham, 2s; C. Bradsworth, 5s; G. Page, 1s; J.B. (U.S.A.), 7s 2d; F. B. Williamson, 7s; H. Sherwen, 12s; J. McKinnon, 11s; A. J. Horn, 2s; 'Co-op. Divi', £1 5s 10d; R. P. Neal, 2s; E. Strachan Rogers, £2 2s; A. W. Wales, 1s; H.B. (Canada), 15s; J. A. Smith, 3s; W. Gillham, 1s; D. Higginton, 2s; A. R. Hodgkinson, 2s; H. Eldridge, 3s; Y. Shimbun, £1; Anon, Birkenhead, 10s; G. Hunter, 12s; J. Stewart, 2s; J. P. Mortimore, 5s; F. Rogers, 2s; T. Russell, 7s; L. Marlowe, 12s; S. P. Batte, 2s; L.M.C., 13s; P. Pietersen, 2s; R. A. Pollock, 7s; R. Herring, 2s.

Our thanks to you all

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